THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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From the Rev. W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D. *Sept.* 1839.

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The effect of certaine Sermons

TOVCHING

THE FVLL REDEMPTION

of mankind by the death and bloud of *CHRIST IESVS:*

WHEREIN

Besides the merite of Christs *suffering, the manner* of his offering, the power of his death, the comfort of his Crosse, the glorie of his resurrection,

Are handled,

What paines *Christ* suffered in his soule on the Crosse:

Together,

With the place and purpose of his descent to hel after death:

Preached at Paules Crosse and elsewhere in London, by the right Reuerend Father *Thomas Bilson* Bishop of Winchester.

With a conclusion to the Reader for the cleering of certaine obiections made against the said doctrine.

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1. Corinth. 2.

I esteeme not to knowe any thing saue Christ Iesus, and him crucified.

Athanasius de Incarnatione verbi dei.

Therefore the sonne of God tooke to him a bodie that might die, that, enduring it with a reasonable soule, it might suffice for a full satisfaction to Death for all.

Imprinted at London by *Peter Short* for *Walter Burre*, and are to be sold in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Flower deluce. 1599.

To the Christian Reader.

IT is some time since (good Christian Reader) that lying in London, and preaching at Paules Crosse, as the feast of Easter drawing neer did admonish mee, I made choice to speake of the redemption of mankinde by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus. And because that Citie then had, and yet hath, as manie learned and religious preachers; so some conceited and too much addicted to nouelties, who spared not in their Catechisings and readings, to vrge the suffering of the *verie paines of hell* in the soul of Christ on the crosse, as the chiefest part, and maine ground of our Redemption by Christ: I, finding how fast that opinion had increased, since it was first deuised, and doubting where it would end, thought it my dutie publikelie to warne them that were forward in defending this fansie, to take heed how farre they waded in that late sprong speculation. For as these words of [a] *Dauid*, *The sorrowes of hell besieged me*, and these of [b] *Ionas*, *Out of the belly of hel I cried, & thou heardest my voice*, may be tolerablie applied to Christ, if they be Metaphorically interpreted of Christ, as the scriptures meane them in *Dauid* and *Ionas*; so if wee grow from the figuratiue vse of the worde HELL, to the proper signification thereof, and rise from the degrees of sor-

[a] Psa. 18. & 116
[b] Ionas. 2.

rowes and feares, which pursue the Saints in this life, to the higheſt ſenſe and ſuffering of ALL, and THE VERIE SAME paines and puniſhments which the damned do and ſhall endure for euer; freeing Chriſt from nothing but from the place and continuance of hell: vve make not a curious and ſuperfluous, but an erroneous and daungerous addition to the myſterie of our Saluation.

The better to ſlacke their inconſiderate heate, I laboured to prooue theſe foure pointes vnto them. 1 Firſt that it was no where recorded in the holie Scriptures, nor iuſtlie to bee concluded by the Scriptures, that Chriſt ſuffred the true paines of hell; and ſo the Conſciences of the faythfull coulde not iuſtlie bee forced to the neceſſarie beleeuing of anie ſuch ſtraige 2 aſſertion. Secondlie, that as the Scriptures deſcribe to vs the paines of the damned and of hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which, without euident impietie, cannot be aſcribed to the Sonne of God, as namely *extreame Darkeneſſe*, *Deſperation*, *Confuſion*, *vtter ſeparation*, *reiection and excluſion* from the grace, fauour, and kingdome of God; *remembrance* of ſinne *gnawing* the conſcience, *horrour* of Diuels tormented and tormenting, and *flame* of *fire* intolerable burning both bodie and ſoule. 3 Thirdlie, that the death and bloud of Chriſt Ieſus were euidentlie, frequentlie, conſtantlie ſet downe in the writinges of the Apoſtles as the ſufficient price of our Redemption, and true meane of our reconciliation to God; and the verie ſame propoſed in the *figures*

figures, resembled in the *sacrifices* of the Lawe, and sealed with the *Sacraments* of the new Testament as the verie grounde worke of our saluation by Christ; and so haue beene receaued and beleeued in the Church of God fourteene hundred yeares, before anie man euer made mention of hell paines to bee suffered in the soule of Christ. Lastlie, where the Scriptures are plaine and pregnant, that Christ [c] DIED *for our sinnes*, and by his [d] DEATH, *destroied him that had power of death, euen the Diuell, and reconciled vs, when we were strangers and enemies,* IN THE [e] BODIE OF HIS FLESH THROVGH DEATH, (for wee are *reconciled to God*, *by the* [f] DEATH *of his sonne, and sanctified by* THE OFFERING OF THE [g] BODIE *of Iesus Christ* once, who [h] *himselfe bare our sinnes in his* BODIE *on the Tree*: where hee *was put to death concerning the* FLESH;) Besides that the holie Ghost in these places by expresse wordes nameth the bodilie death of Christ as the meane of our redemption and reconciliation to God: no considerate diuine might affirme or imagine Christ suffered the Death of the soule; for so much as the Death of the soule must exclude Christ from the *grace*, *spirit*, and *life* of God; and leaue in him neither *faith*, *hope*, nor *loue*, *sanctitie*, nor *innocencie*; which God forbid anie Christian man shoulde so much as dreame. Wee shoulde therefore do well to reuerence the manifest wordes of Gods Spirit in so high a pointe of Religion, and suffer our selues as schollers to bee taught by the leader into all trueth, what to beleeue and confesse in the mystery of our redemption, and not to controle or correct the doctrine so

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[c] 1. Corin. 15.
[d] Hebre. 2
[e] Colos. 1
[f] Rom 5.
[g] Hebr. 10.
[h] 1. Pet. 2.

cleerelie deliuered in the Scriptures, so consonantlie retained of all learned and vnlearned in the Church of Christ, for so many hundred yeares. And if anie man to maintaine his deuise woulde inuent a newe hell and another death of the soule, then either scriptures or fathers euer heard or spake of, they shoulde keepe their inuentions to themselues; it sufficed me to beleeue what I read, and consequently not to beleeue what I did not read in the word of God, which is and ought to be the foundation of our faith.

Thus farre I purposed, when I first entered, by Gods grace to proceede in this cause, according to ỹ simple vnderstanding wherwith god hath endued me for the good of his Church. The article of the Creed, Christ DESCENDED INTO HELL I meant not to meddle with; choosing rather to leaue ỹ vntouched, then to presse any sense as a point of faith, for which I had not so full and faire warrant, as for the redemption of man by the death and blood of Christ Iesus; but the vehemencie of some contradicting that I taught, and the importunitie of others requesting to knowe what they might safelie beleeue of that article, made mee to alter my minde. For whē some vrged, others doubted, that if Christ did not suffer the paines of hell whiles he hung on the Crosse, that part of the Creed was added in vaine; and the wordes of *Dauid*, *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell*, applied by [k] *Peter* vnto Christ in the second of the *Acts*, could hardly haue any good construction: (becausse it seemed farre fet, and altogither repugnant to the proper signification of the wordes, to take the *soule* for the *bodie*, and *hell* for the *graue*; and as for the locall descent of Christ

[j] Psal. 16.
[k] Acts 2.

to

to hell after death, they counted that but a fable:) I was forced to promise that I would openlie deliuer, which I thought was the likelieſt and ſafeſt ſenſe, as well of that article in the Creede, as of thoſe wordes of *Dauid*, fulfilled in the perſon of our Sauiour. This occaſion drew mee to the next queſtion of Chriſtes deſcent to hell. Wherin I reſolued as by peruſing the later part of this treatiſe will better appeare, that Chriſts deſcent to the verie place of hell after his death, did beſt concord both with the Creede, and with the truth of Chriſtian religion, ſo we tooke care not to ſwarue frō the Scriptures, in ſetting downe the cauſe why he went thither: which was to ouerthrow & deſtroy the kingdom & might of Satan in the place of his greateſt ſtrength, euen in hel, and as our head to free all his members from daunger and feare of comming thither: the ſorrowes and terrors whereof hee looſed vvith his preſence, treading them vnder his feete, and roſe againe into a bleſſed and immortall life, leading captiuitie captiue, and taking from hell and Satan all povver to preuaile againſt his elect.

Both theſe reſolutions that Chriſt ſuffered *not the true paines of hell in his ſoule on the croſſe*; and that hee *perſonallie conquered* and diſarmed the *powers* and terrours *thereof before his reſurrection*; ſome (as in ſuch caſes is common) miſremembred, ſome miſconſtrued, and ſome miſliked: vvhereupon I vvas both aduiſed and intreated by men of greater place then I vvill name, to put the effect of that vvhich I had deliuered in vvriting, that by mine ovvne vvords, and not by other mens conceits or reports, the learned might iudge of the doctrine. Which I did that verie

Summer

Summer, and had it readie for the presse before Bartlemewtide, but that the Parliament of States approching, wherein men shoulde be otherwise imploied; and a great hurle raised against it by certaine popular preachers in that citie, through whose mouthes the contrarie had often passed to the people as currant, I was desired by the same persons againe to staie, till that time of businesse were ouer past, that heat of contradiction somewhat alaied, and respite giuen that it might be trãslated into Latin, which also is now performed, as wel as published in English. To whose coũsell I yeelded, referring the time wholy to their iudgements, notwithstanding I were by many traduced in many places as a teacher of strange and false doctrine. But I haue beene and am the more willing to beare the reproches of maligners, becausse I seeke not my selfe heerein, but that the church of Christ heere in Englande should hold fast that ancient and sure foundation of faith which hitherto it hath kept; and professe that doctrine touching our Redemption by Christ, which as wel the publike lawes of this realme, as all the catholike fathers do vphold and allow.

In setting downe the summe of that which I preached, I neither do, nor can promise thee (gentle Reader) the same words which I then spake; I wrote them not; but I assure thee before him that knoweth all things, that I haue not swarued nor altered anie materiall point from the methode, propositions, proofes and conclusions, which I then vsed, nor from the wordes as farre as either my notes, or my memory vpon the fresh foote coulde direct mee; which I haue yet to shew. Manie proofes and authorities I omitted

in

in the pulpit, which the time shut me from; and some obiections I haue answered here more largelie, then the course of Sermons would permit: but here is the selfe same in effect, which then I vttered and purposed, if the time woulde haue suffered. The manner of handling this question, I alwaies wished might bee temperate and sober, as best became christian professours and teachers; least by catching aduantages besides the cause, wee increased quarrels, and so much regarded our credits that wee neglected the truth. I haue therfore in the Treatise it selfe touched no mans name, oppugned no mans wordes, traduced no mans iudgement; but admitting and retaining as much as I thought might stande with the truth, I haue pared off certaine extremities, and reiected certaine additions, which the first inuentors did refraine; for that Christ suffered the death of the soule, or all the same tormentes, which the damned do and shall, are positions lately coined, and deriued from the proportion of Gods iustice as they call it, but as I thinke from presumption of mans reason intruding into Gods secrets. The doctrine which I defend, that we are sufficientlie redeemed by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus, (without adding of hell paines to bee suffered in the soule of Christ) hath the constant, full, and expresse warrant of the Scriptures, and the like approbation from al the fathers without exception. And therefore howsoeuer some men may despise all ancient writers, and frustrate the scriptures with their figures; al sober and wise christians will, I doubt not, beware how they admit this strange and late found nouelty into their Creede or consciences. The second point I presse not

with like vehemencie, becauſe it hath not like certaintie. So long as we confeſſe (which the Scriptures do confirme) that Chriſts humane nature after his extreame humiliation on the Croſſe, & before his reſurrection, conquered & ſpoyled not death only, but hell & Satan alſo, of al their power & right ouer ỹ faithful, & aſcending on hie *lead captiuitie captiue*, & tooke the *keyes of death and of hell* into his owne hands; with the preciſe maner and hower I will not burden anie mans conſcience, that cannot be perſwaded by reading the latter part of this treatiſe; though I my ſelfe, after long & diligent ſearch, find no ſenſe ſo agreeable to ỹ words of the Creede, ſo anſwerable to the rules of the ſacred Scriptures, and ſo fullie followed by all the Fathers, as Chriſts deſcent to the verie place of hell for the purpoſes aforeſaid.

Hauing premoniſhed thee (Chriſtian reader) of thus much, I am not willing to detayne thee anie longer from vewing and examining the booke it ſelfe, but onelie to tell thee that whiles I ſtayed the printing hereof, till others did like it, as wel as my ſelf, one more haſtie then either aduiſed or learned, calling himſelfe H. I. would needes traduce it and confute it before he ſaw it, reſting belike on ſuch notes, as his angry mind and brickle memorie tooke at the time when I preached of theſe points. Wherein though others condemne his follie, yet I commend his pollicie, that leaſt hee ſhould trouble himſelfe with more thē he could anſwere, he thought it ỹ beſt way to come into the field alone, and like a ſtout Champion fighting with his owne ſhadow, to ſay no more thē he would be ſure to deny or decline with one

ſhift

shift or other. To make the easier conquest of that I preached, hee cleane changeth the state of the first Question, hee offereth to proue that which I neuer denied; hee confuteth that which I neuer affirmed, hee runneth at Random no man can tell whither, hee peruerteth my wordes, hee maymeth my reasons, hee skippeth all my authorities; hee scornefullie reiecteth the iudgement of the Fathers when I alleage them, the Scriptures hee turneth and windeth at his pleasure, he wadeth desperately through thicke and thinne in matters of most importance, his best reason is euerie where his own opinion, outfacing the world with his ignorance; in summe, he sheweth vs by his example what it is for a man in matters of faith to despise both authoritie and antiquity, and trust onely to his own fancie. Such an opponent the wiser sort will thinke I were better neglect then encounter, which resolution I my selfe do retayne; onely lest my silence should augment his boldnes, I thought it not amisse in the conclusion seuered from the treatise, to giue thee a tast of the rashnes and weaknes of his enterprise, intreating thee in the meane time to reade aduisedly and iudge indifferently, for that the cause is weighty and toucheth thee as neere as mee. For if we suffer the mayne foundation of our faith and hope in Christ to be wrenched neuer so little awrie; the whole building is more endangered then wee are ware of. In Gods causes, let Gods booke teach vs what to beleeue, and what to professe. If thou thinke it thy duetie in matters of faith to beware of vnwritten verities, in the greatest point of all, which is our redemption by Christ; take heede

thou easilie admit not vnwritten absurdities. This matter began in more generall and more tolerable tearmes, if they might bee rather soberly mitigated, then too vehemently pressed; but as when we runne downe an hill we can hardly staie; so in matters of religion when we fal to inuenting beyond the scriptures we quickly misse and seldome recouer the truth. Farewell (gentle Reader) and pray that our thoughts and wits may be subiected to the truth of Gods word, and that wee loath not the simplicitie which is in Christ.

Thomas Bilson

London 1599

From this page

THE FVLL REDEMPtion of mankind, by the death and bloud of Christ.

GALATH. 6. verse. 14.

Be it far from me to reioice but in the Crosse of Christ.

SO the naturall man no where liketh nor alloweth the thinges of God, because they seeme foolishnes vnto him: so of all the waies and workes of God there is none, that more displeaseth and offendeth the vnbeleeuer, then the Crosse of Christ. [a] Wee preach Christ crucified (saith the Apostle) to the Iewes a stumbling blocke, to the Grecians foolishnesse. The Grecians sauoring nothing but worldlie wisedome, and fleshlie reason, counted it a meere folly for the sonne of God, to leaue his throne of glorie in the heauens, and as a man amongst men, to taste of manie miseries; and to suffer a cruell and shamefull death at the handes of his enemies. The price of our Redemption, for whose sakes hee died, and the power of his resurrection, by which hee raised vs to the imitation and expectation of a better life, they did neither conceiue, nor beleeue; and therefore they reiected his birth, and specially his death, as a dreame of simple and vnlearned men, such as

[a] 1. Corinth 1. The crosse of Christ despised both of Iewes and Gentiles.

they toke the Apostles to be. The Iewes hauing their eares full of those excellent promises, which God made by his prophets, concerning the kingdome of the Messias, and referring them to an earthlie king, that should sit on the throne of Dauid, bruising his enemies with a rod of Iron, and ruling the world with iustice and equitie: when they sawe the weake and base condition of our Sauiour, in outward shew promising nothing but reproch and penurie; they so disdained and detested him, that they could not bee quiet, till they had crucified him; being then, and euer since ashamed, and greeued that anie should saie, or thinke, he was the Messias, so much spoken of in the prophets. Thus the Iewes loking for wonders, and the Grecians for Wisedome, did both condemne the crosse of Christ: the one of weakenesse, the other of foolishnesse: and for that cause fell at the stone of offence: but such as were called both Iewes and Gentiles to bee heires of the promise, did plainelie perceaue, and fullie confesse Christ crucified to be the mightie power, and manifold wisedome of God for their euerlasting ioie and blisse; and were so far from being ashamed of Christs sufferings, that they were willing partakers and open reioicers in the crosse of Christ, as the Apostle here saieth of himselfe. [b] Be it farre from mee to reioice, but in the Crosse of Christ, by which the world is crucified to me, and I to the world. And indeede if we beholde Christ crucified with carnall eies, as did the Iewes, wee shall see nothing in him but earthlie weakenesse, and deadlie woundes, as they sawe: but if we bende the eies of our faith to the truth of his person, and to the force and fruite of his death, as must all his saints; we shall finde the power and wisedome, iustice and mercie of God so tempered in the crosse of Christ for our good; that by his paines we are eased, by his stripes we are healed, his weakenesse is our strength, his shame is our glorie, and his death our life: worthelie therefore doth the Apostle professe, that he did, and we should not reioice but in the crosse of Christ.

What it is to the beleeuers.

[b] Galath. 6

And where hee saith, he did reioyce in nothing but in the crosse of Christ; he thereby teacheth vs to repose all our faith

and

and hope, aswell as our ioy, in the fauour of God, which Christ hath purchased for vs, by his death and bloud. [c] Reioice in hope, saith the Apostle; that is in the expectation, not in the present fruition of heauenlie thinges, which God hath prepared for all that loue him. Now hope without faith there can bee none. [d] Faith is the ground worke of that wee hope, for howe can we with patience looke for that, which we doe not beleeue wee shall receiue? The doubting of Gods promises is the plaine distrusting of them; and breedeth rather a feare we shall misse them, then an hope to enioie them: and in feare there is [e] PAINE, as saint Iohn saith, and no IOIE. Then as there is no perfect ioie, but in hope assured by faith, so if we must not reioice but in the crosse of Christ, our faith and hope must wholie depende on that peace and attonement, which Christ hath made betwixt God and vs, by the sheading of his precious bloud for our sakes; that is by his crosse. Since therefore Christ crucified is the wisedome and power of God to saue all that beleeue, and the crosse of Christ is the ful support of all our faith, hope and ioie; there is no one point in christian religion, that more mainelie concerneth, and neerelie toucheth the saluation of our soules, then the right vnderstanding and only relying on the crosse of Christ; least we mistake the truth or distrust the force thereof, to the dishonour of Christ, and danger of our owne soules.

[c] Rom.12
[d] Hebr.11
[e] 1.Iohn.4

To preuent this perill, I thinke best to obserue this order in that which shall be saide, to shewe first what the Crosse of Christ CONTAINETH, next what the crosse of Christ PERFORMETH: that knowing the contents and effectes of Christs crosse, I meane the paines which he suffered; and the worke which he accomplished by dying on the crosse; we may be setled and assured, how far it extended, and what it effected for vs.

The methode of this treatise.

To begin with the CONTENTS of Christes crosse: The crosse is sometimes taken in the Scripture for all manner of afflictions, [f] He that will come after me, let him denie himselfe, and dailie take vp his crosse and follow me. [g] He that doth

[f] Luke.9
[g] Matth.10.

not take vp his Crosse and follow me, is not worthy of me. In this sence, saieth Bernarde, [h] The whole life of Christ was a crosse and a martyrdom. The reason whie Christ so vsed the worde (for he first vsed it) was, for that he saw before hande, that going to his crosse he should taste all kindes of calamities: and so came it to passe. For betweene his last supper, and his death, hee was betraied of Iudas, abiured of Peter, forsaken of all his followers; hee was wrongfullie imprisoned, falselie accused, vniustlie condemned; he was bufketed, whipped, scorned, reuiled; he endured colde, nakednes, thirst, wounding, hanging, shame, reproch, and all sortes of deadlie paines; besides heauinesse of heart, and agonie of mind, which oppressed him in the garden. Rightlie then maie the crosse note all maner of miseries, forasmuch as our Sauiour going from the garden to the graue, suffered all sortes of afflictions: howbeit this is no different signification, but rather a participation of the crosse of Christ.

[h] *De passi. dom. cap. 5.*

The crosse taken for all kind of affliction.

The Church of Rome hath wedded a great part of her deuotion to the crosse of Christ, but vnder that name she adoreth the matter and forme of the crosse: as for the force and effects of Christs death, which is remission of our sinnes, satisfaction of Gods wrath, and donation of eternall life, the prodigallie imparteth that to her pilgrimages, pardons, & purgatorie, yea to the works and praiers of quicke and dead; and so magnifieng the signe and wood of the crosse, she dishonoreth the merite and fruit of Christ crucified. But of her painted and carued crosses, the scripture maketh no mention, and therefore I skipt it, rather as a manifest illusion, then anie signification of the crosse of Christ.

The church of Rome honoreth the crosse and dishonoreth the death of Christ.

Most commonlie in the Scriptures by the crosse of Christ, the holie Ghost meaneth the person suffering, and the paine suffered on the crosse, that is, the punishments and torments which the sonne of God suffered for our sinnes, after he was fastened to the tree: the rest which went before not being excluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that sharpe and extreame martyrdome which hee endured on the crosse.

What the scriptures meane by the crosse of Christ.

crosse. And so Christ crucified as the scriptures describe him, had from top to toe no part free from paine and griefe; but hong on the wood, hauing his flesh torne with whippes, his cheekes swolne with buffets, his face defiled with spittle, his head stucke full with thornes, his eies dejected for shame, his eares burning with taunts, his mouth sowred with vineger, his hands and feete wounded with Iron spikes, his bones vnlointed, his sinewes pricked and strained, his whole body hanging by the sorenesse of his hands and feet, and lastlie (though he were first dead) his heart pierced with a Speare, whence issued bloud and water. His bodie thus wounded and tortured vnto death, his bloud thus shed, and as it were powred on the earth, are said in the scriptures to be the ransome of our sinnes, and price of our redemption. [i] Hee bare our sinnes in his body vpon the Crosse (saith Peter:) and again, [k] You are redeemed with the precious bloud of Christ, as of a lambe vnspotted and vndefiled. I do not amplifie the bodilie paines which Christ suffered, of purpose to make them seeme greater then they were; I find my selfe rather vnable to expresse them; but least wee should too much diminish them, and alke, What great matter it was for him to go securely, and as it were sportinglie to his death, I thought good shortlie to touch them, and leaue the fuller and further consideration of them to the godlie at their priuate leysure.

[i] 1 Peter. 2.
[k] 1 Peter. 1

In the meane time I may not omit in his Stripes, Thornes, Crucifying and Death, to obserue that which the Reader will happilie ouerskippe in the historie of his passion, vnlesse hee be both aduised and learned. In his STRIPES I note, that Pilate hauing a purpose to saue the life of Christ, and not neglecting to satisfie the people that were incensed against him, caused him extreamly to be whipped, and shewed to the people in that plight with these words, [l] *Ecce homo*, Behold the man; to let them see that Christ had receiued very sufficient correction, no crime being proued against him, and so to withdraw them from seeking his death. In CROWNING him with thornes, the souldiers did not onelie wreath him

The paines of Christs crosse.

[l] Iohn. 19.

a thicke crowne of thornes, to sticke his head full of them: but after the putting it on, to fasten it, they did strike him on the heade with their Canes; as [m] Matthew and Marke do plainlie testifie. In NAILING him to the Crosse, besides the greatnesse and sorenesse of his wounds, which were worthie to be marked, they so strained his bodie least hee should stirre hand or foote, that all his bones might bee numbred. The greatnesse of his woundes Dauid foreshewed by these wordes: [n] *Foderunt manus meas, & pedes meos*; they digged my handes and my feete; noting howe wide woundes they made in both, which were rather digged than pierced; and so bigge were the nailes, as the Ecclesiasticall historie reporteth, that Constantine made of them (when his mother had found them in the mount where Christ was crucified) [o] A bridle, and an helmet for his owne use. How tender and sensible the hands & feet are aboue other partes of the bodie, and what paine and anguish the pricking, straining and tearing of the sinewes, ligaments and ioynts in either (which are verie thicke, and full of sense in both those places) did breede and kindle in the whole bodie, nature can teach vs without anie further proofe. Of RACKING his ioints, Bernard maketh this collection out of Dauid: [p] *Tantum distentus sum, vt corpore nudo in modū Tympanicæ pellis distento, facile possint omnia ossa mea dinumerari.* I am so strained (saith he in the person of Christ) that my bodie naked beeing stretched like the head of a timbrell (or drum) all my bones may be numbred. If this proofe reach not home, Dauid hath plainer and expresser wordes, in the 14. verse of the same Psalme, which cannot be contradicted. HITH PAREDV. i. *Separauerunt se omnia ossa mea*, All my bones are out of ioint, or pulled one from the other. In this horrible torment of Stripes, Thornes, Wounds, Sinewes and ioynts, our Sauiour hong on the crosse aboue three houres, in most perfect sense, with most extream paine, till the verie instant that hee breathed out his soule. A violenter death by fyre, or otherwise, our Sauiour might happilie haue suffered; but a more painfull, with perfection

[m] Matth. 27. Marke. 15.

[n] Psa. 22.

[o] Socrates lib. 1. cap. 17

[p] De pass. dom. cap. 7.

of patience, neuer martyr, much lesse malefactor, did or could endure.

The torments of others when they are violent, do either hasten death, or ouerwhelme the sense, and so the paine when it is most grieuous, is least perceiued. In Christ there was no such thing. He died not by degrées as we do; his senses did not decay, no pangs of death take hold of him, but in perfect sense, and perfect patience both of bodie and soule, he did voluntarily and miraculously resigne his spirit (as hee was praying) into his fathers handes. Longer tortures others haue endured, but neuer greater for the time, nor with like patience. For in all men (Christ excepted) though the spirit be neuer so willing, & the measure of faith neuer so strong, yet vnles it please God to shorten or lighten the rage of their paine, the flesh repineth at the present anguish, howsoeuer grace support the soule, that it sink not vnder the burthen. But [q] He which shortneth and lightneth the force of torments in his saints when they be grieuous, in his owne would doe neither. He spared not himselfe, that knoweth how to spare his; but suffered and indured all to the vttermost, with so exact obedience and patience, that he did not shrinke at the paine, nor striue with death, but yeelded so voluntarie a sacrifice to god, that in the sharpest torments he made no shew of sense: nor suffered his flesh so much as to tremble or struggle with paine or death. The manner of rendring vp his soule the Scriptures and Fathers do carefullie obserue. Saint Iohn thus describeth it. [r] When Iesus had tasted of the vinegar, hee said (all) is finished, & bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghost. Whereupon Bernard saith: [s] It is a great infirmity to die, but so to die, doth plainlie proue an infinite power. S. Luke reporteth that Iesus [t] cried with a loud voice (to shew himselfe to be free from any touch of death) and saide, Father into thy handes I commend my spirit. Whereupon Hierom obserueth, that the Centurion hearing his prayer, and seeing him [u] *Statim spiritum sponte dimisisse*, presently of his owne accord to sende forth his spirite, *Commotus signi magnitudine*, moued with the greatnesse

Christ had no pangs of death but perfect sense of paine vnto the end.

[q] *Bernard de pass. dom. ca. 41.*

He died voluntarily.

[r] Iohn. 19.

[s] *Serm. 4. Hebdomadæ panosæ.*

[t] Luk. 23.

[u] *quæst. 8. ad Hedibiam.*

greatneſſe of the wonder, ſaide; Truly this man was the ſonne of God. Auguſtine largely handling the maner of his death ſaith[x]; Who can ſo ſleepe when he wil, as Chriſt died when he would? Who can ſo laie aſide his garment at his pleaſure, as Chriſt laid aſide his fleſh? Who can ſo leaue his place, as Chriſt left his life? with how great power ſhall he come to iudge, that ſhewed ſo great power when he died? Chriſt himſelfe ratifieth theſe obſeruations with his owne mouth in the Goſpell of ſaint Iohn[y]: None taketh my ſoule from mee, but I laie it downe of my ſelfe. By this we may perceiue, the conſumation of the Humane nature with the Diuine in the perſon of Chriſt was ſo faſt and ſure, that neither ſinne, death, nor hell aſſaulting our Sauiour, could make anie ſeparation, no not of his bodie; but he himſelfe of his owne accord muſt put off his earthlie tabernacle, that dying for a ſeaſon he might conquer death for euer; and ſo the laying downe of his life was no impoſed punishment, nor forceable inuaſion of death vpon him, but a voluntary ſacrifice for ſinne rendred vnto God for our ſakes, to appeaſe the wrath and ſatisfie the curſe, which our manifold wickednes had moſt iuſtlie deſerued.

[x] *Tract. 119. in Iohan.*

[y] Iohn. 10.

How the opinion of Chriſts ſuffering hell paines hath growen by degrees.

Thus farre without feare we maie freelie extend the croſſe of Chriſt by the warrant of the holie ſcriptures. Some men in our daies ſtretch it a great deale farther, to the death both of bodie and ſoule, and to the WHOLE PAINES OF THE DAMNED IN HELL; but vpon how iuſt grounds, when you heare, you may iudge as you ſee cauſe. This opinion hath growen by degrees; and euerie daie taketh newe increaſe. At the firſt, men contented themſelues to thinke Chriſt ſuffered the paines of hel, that is great and intolerable paines; which metaphoricall kind of ſpeach the Scriptures will beare; if we conclude no worſe meaning within thoſe words; Out of the bellie of HEL, (ſaith Ionas) I cried and thou heardeſt my voice. The ſorrowes of HEL compaſſed me about (ſaith Dauid) and the griefes of HEL tooke hold of me. Some others affirme, that Chriſt, in ſuſtaining the wrath of God due to vs, wraſtled with the verie powers of hell that ſought

Ionas. 2.
Pſal. 18.
Pſal. 116.

to

to fasten on him, and howsoeuer beholding the terror of Gods vengeance prouoked by our sinnes, he did somtimes tremble, yet by firme faith alwaies fixed on God, he repelled and repressed those assaults of Satan, and so saued not himselfe onely, but vs also. This might be indured if men could stay here; & it were to be wished, that in matters of so great weight and danger, we would rather try where we are, then hasten to go onward. But as water breaking her bankes still runneth and neuer stayeth; so some lighting on other mens inuentions neuer leaue adding till they marre all. In the case which we haue in hand, the name of Hell paines being once admitted into the worke of our redemption, some in our daies will no nay, but that Christ on the crosse suffered the selfe same paines in soule, which the damned do in hell, and endured euen the death of the soule; yea others anouch that hee sustained farre greater torments then anie are in hell, to wit, as much paine in 15. houres, as all the faithfull should haue suffered euerlastinglie, and that as well in body as in soule. To these dangerous deuises are some men slipt in our time. And because I knowe not when or where they will make an ende, I thinke it needfull for discharge of my dutie, and direction of your faith, as well to set downe certaine limits beyond which you may not go, as also to reiect such extremities as by no meanes may be closed in the crosse of Christ, without apparant impietie.

How many impressions the paines of hell make in the soule of man.

The paines of hell (if I be not deceiued) make a fourefold impression in the soules of men; a carefull feare, which declineth them; a doubtfull feare, which conflicteth with them; a desperate feare which sinketh vnder them, and a damned feare which suffereth them. The first is and must be in all the godlie; and chieflie in Christ himselfe: For the more we loue God, the more wee detest and shunne all separation from God. Hell therefore which is an vtter exclusion from the kingdome of God, is most iustlie abhorred of all his saints, and specially of his owne Son: who not onelie by will, but by nature is one with his Father. A conflict with Hell

if it come not from the inward motion of the mind, is but a temptation to trie the heart, or shew the strength of the godlie. So was Adam tempted in Paradise by Eue, and Eue by the Serpent, to proue howe mindfull they were, and thankfull they would be for the blessings of God bestowed vpon them. So was Christ tempted in the wildernesse by Satan, and all his life long by the wicked, which were to him but occasions to declare the innocencie and integritie of his humane nature. But the inwarde temptation of the heart and conscience, though it bee in all the children of Adam, (the elect themselues not excepted,) by reason of their flesh lusting agaynst the spirite, their conscience accusing them for sinne, and their fayth sometimes fainting; yet in Christ wee must graunt no such thing, because in him there was neither corruption of flesh, nor remorse of sinne, nor weakenesse of faith, that shoulde anie kinde of waie bréede or yeelde to the worme, that gnaweth at our consciences. A desperate feare is when the wrath of God awaketh the wicked to knowe and acknowledge, what vengeance is prepared for them, in the life to come, and so hauing lost both fayth and hope, they fall to an horrible expectation of iudgement, and flaming fyre, which shall deuoure the aduersarie. But yet euen these men, whose case is most despaired, are not while they liue heere on earth, in the true paines of Hell, but are as farre from that, as expecting is from suffering. The last I knowe not howe to call, but by the name of a damned, rather paine, then feare; which the wicked departed this life doe presentlie feele. For paine that is present, inflicteth rather torment, then feare; since feare is properlie the trembling at euill, before it come, and not the grieuing at it, when it is come. Of these foure impressions, yee see which I attribute vnto Christ, and which not. Despairing, or so much as doubting of his saluation, we cannot ascribe to him without euident impietie. And as for Christes suffering the

same

same paines which the damned soules in Hell doe, to my simple vnderstanding, it is rather a dreame then a doctrine to bee taught in the Church of Christ. Did they defende as great sense and anguish of paine to haue beene in Christes bodie or soule, as hell fire doth inflict to the damned, though that were a verie presumptuous and audacious position, yet is it not so impious, as when they affirme he suffred the self same which the damned do. For the damned haue many sorts of paines in hel, which by no meanes could fasten on Christs person; and since there be degrées of paine in hell euen for the damned; these curious teachers must shewe vs which of these degrees Christ suffered, & by what warrant of gods word, they adiunge the very paines of hell to the crosse of Christ.

To perswade them to hold fast the forme of wholsom words, which the holy ghost obserueth throughout the scriptures, I feare is but lost labor; hauing lighted on a strange doctrine, they are forced to vse strange speeches, such as no where are found in the word of truth, expressing mans redemption by the death and bloud of Christ; yet somwhat to rebate the heat of such as despise all other sufferings of Christ in respect of their hell-paines, I think it not amisse to examine the weight of those allegations and reasons that are brought to support their assertion. The proofs that are pretended for this opinion may be recalled to three principal heds, which are these, PREDICTIONS that Christ should suffer the paines of hell in soul; CAVSES, why he must suffer them; SIGNES that he did suffer them. Predictions, that Christ should suffer the paines of hel are cited these, [a] Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: and againe, [b] The sorowes or streights of hell haue found me out, & beset me round. The causes why he must suffer them are enlarged by some into many branches, but may bee contracted into these two; THE PART that chiefly sinned in man; & the WAGES due to man for sin. The WORKE of sin appeared first & most in the soule of Adam, & therfore in ỳ satisfaction for sin, the soul of Christ, as they say, must properly & principally

2. Tim. 1.

The proofes which are brought that Christ suffered the paines of hell.

[a] Psal. 16.
[b] Psal. 18.

ſuffer. The WAGES of ſin is expreſſely death both of ſoule and bodie, and therfore Chriſt, as our ſuretie and for our ſinnes, muſt taſte of both, (as they affirm) before he can diſcharge vs from both. Signes that he did ſuffer, were his AGONIE in the garden, when he ſweat blood; which for a corporall death he would neuer haue don: his COMPLAINT on the croſſe, that he was forſaken of God, which (as they thinke) prooueth he felt in ſoule a moſt fearefull iudgement of God, pronounced againſt our ſinnes. To euerie of theſe I will ſpeake in order, that finding the weakneſſe of their foundation, we maie the ſoner ſee the lameneſſe of their concluſion.

Predictions that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer y paines of hel.

To the firſt I might anſwere with Saint Auſten; theſe words of Dauid ſpecifie not anie ſuffering of hell paines on the croſſe, but rather a deſcent to the place of hell. [c] That the Lord after his bodie was dead came to hell is certaine enough; for neither can the prophecie be contradicted, which ſaid, Thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell; (which leaſt anie man ſhoulde dare otherwiſe to interpret, *Peter* in the Acts of the Apoſtles ſo expoundeth;) nor the wordes of *Peter* bee auoided, where hee ſaith that Chriſt brake the ſorrowes of hell, the which could not poſſiblie take hold on him; who then but an infidell will denie that Chriſt was in hell? But with antiquitie I will not vrge them; if the text doe not refuſe their expoſition, I will releaſe them this authoritie. That this ſaying of Dauid doth not import anie paines ſuffered while Chriſt liued, but ſome honour done to his ſoule after his death, maie three waies be proued; by the wordes next præcedent, by the words next adioyned, and by the application which Peter maketh, when he citeth this place. The wordes next before, (which are theſe, [d] My fleſh ſhall reſt in hope) note Chriſts buriall: and this is brought as a reaſon why Chriſtes bodie ſhould reſt in hope, not on the croſſe where it had no reſt, but in the graue after he was dead; becauſe thou wilt not leaue my ſoule in hell. If this reſpected any thing endured on the croſſe, the holy ghoſt muſt haue ſaide in the perſon of Chriſt, becauſe THOV HAST NOT LEFT MY SOVLE IN HEL: the paines, and

[c] *Auguſt. epi. 99*

[d] *Pſal. 16.*

time

time were both past; but he speaketh in the future tence, of future things, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. And this was the hope in which Christ died. Now hope neuer tendeth to things past and known, but to that which is to come. This therefore toucheth somthing consequent after Christs death, which he hoped for when he died, and not anie paines suffered on the crosse, or in the garden, whiles he liued. The words annexed infer the same. [d] Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holie one to see corruption. Both these being iointlie spoken of Christ, must both bee iointlie verified in Christ; wherefore Christes soule must then not bee left in hell, when his flesh lying in the earth sawe no corruption. They may not bee seuered in performance, which the holie ghost knitteth together in coherence. Lastlie Peter in plaine words saieth, [e] Dauid spake (this) of Christs resurrection. If this concerned his resurrection, then not his passion on the crosse; but after death, and before he rose, as his flesh saw no corruption; So his soule was not left in hell. Yea, God [f] raised him vp (as Peter saith) breaking the sorrowes of death (or hell before him) of which it was impossible he should be held; [g] not that hee was euer in them, and so loosed them, as a man doth chaines, wherewith hee was once bound: but as the snares of hunters (saith Austen) are broken, *Ne teneant, non quia tenuerunt*: before they take hold, not after they haue taken holde. For Christ was to rise againe, not as others before him were restored to this present life; but as the full and first conquerour of death and hell, hee was to rise both in bodie and soule to eternall & celestial glory; and therfore he brake, when he rose, the paines and powers of death and hell; that they should not preuaile for euer against him or his.

[d] Psal. 16.

[e] Acts 2.

[f] *Ibidem.*

[g] August epist. 99.

The other places of the Psalmes, haue as manie answeres as they haue wordes; for euerie word is an answere. First Dauid speaketh of himselfe, not of Christ; and Dauids words to Christs person we may not refer at our pleasures, without farther and better warrant. Againe, Dauid doth not saie, the TORMENTS, but the [h] SNARES, or STREIGHTS

[h] Psal. 18. & 116.

of DEATH, as well as of HELL (for the worde Sheol indifferentlie signifieth both, if there bee none other circumstance to limite it to either; and Dauid by the rules of diuinitie was neuer here on earth in the true paines of the damned,) haue FOVND me out, or BESET, and besieged mee, but not oppressed, nor ouerwhelmed me. And if we take the name of HELL neuer so properlie, it is no inconuenience, that the gates of hell, I meane the craft and power of Satan, should hunt after the godlie here on earth, and seeke to entrap, euen Christ himselfe; but the true paines of hell, the wicked and desperate do not suffer in this life, much lesse the elect, least of all Christ. It is a iudgement following death, and mate no more be defended to bee here on earth, then the ioies of heauen may be possessed in this life.

The causes why Christ must suffer the paines of hel.

In the causes, why Christ should suffer the paines of hell, we may do well not to be too forwarde with the rules of reason: as well for that there is no proportion betwixt the person of Christ and vs, as also for that wee may not sit iudges with God, and prescribe when or howe his iustice should bee satisfied. It is requisite in our selues to confesse that as both parts of man sinned in Adam, so the wages of sinne, which is euerlasting death, is due to both: and as the soule shoulde haue principallie enioied God, which is her life, if shee had persisted in obedience; so in falling from God, her losse, and smart, must of the twaine bee farre the greater; though the bodie shall not wante both grieuaunce and vengeance intolerable: but if wee stretch these rules to Christ, and subiect his person, as our suretie, to the verie SAME WAGES of sinne, which we should haue suffered, I knowe not howe in fewer wordes a man maie couch more grosse and open impietie. For we should haue béene WHOLY SEVERED, IVSTLY HATED, and VTTERLY REIECTED from God, yea ETERNALLY CONDEMNED BODIE AND SOVLE to hell fire. May anie of these thinges be affirmed or imagined of Christ without hainous and horrible blasphemie? This was the wages of our sinne; must

he

he endure THE SAME, before wee can bee redéemed, or Gods iustice be satisfied? I hope no sound diuine will so conclude.

They will release eternall death to the dignitie of Christs person, but he was (as they saie) for the time to taste the verie same death both in soule and bodie which wee should haue done; and which in vs should haue béene euerlasting. First by their leaues, hell in the scriptures is an euerlasting torment, and therefore if the excellencie of Christes person exempt him from euerlasting miserie, that clérelie quiteth him in bodie and soule from suffering hell. Againe, as sinne is the voluntarie defection of the soule from God, so hell is the TOTAL, if not FINAL EXCLVSION of the soule from all fellowship with God; lesse then the death of soule it cannot be. It is the wages of sinne, and therefore it must bee the death as well of the soule, as of the bodie; and chiefelie of the soule, because the soule of man is the principall agent in sinne. S. Iohn calleth hell the [i] second death. If then the soule of Christ suffered either hell, or the wages of our sinne; of necessitie for the time it must be dead. The[k] wages of sinne is death. If for the time Christes soule were dead, it had no communion with God, nor God with it, no more then death hath with life, or darkenes with light: It lost for that time all faith and loue of God. For by faith the iust doe [l] liue: and he that [m] abideth in loue abideth in God. And since God is the life of the soule, Christ could not suffer the death of the soule, which is the wages of our sinne, no not for a day, or an houre, but he must be seuered from God, & forsaken of God. [n] *Mors animæ sit cum eam deserit deus*, the death of the soule is when God forsaketh it. [o] *Mors est spiritus a deo deseri*, it is the death of the spirit to bee forsaken of God. [p] *Mors animæ deus amissus*: the losse of God is the death of the soule. To lose God, or to be forsaken of God, is to haue no communion, nor fellowship with God; the soule then that is dead, is excluded from the fauour, and grace; truth, and spirit of God; and if anie bee so irreligious or impious, as once to affirme these

Christ could not suffer the death of the soule, which was the chiefe wages of our sinne.

[i] Apocal. 2.

[k] Rom. 6.

[l] Galat. 3

[m] 1. Iohn. 4.

[n] *August. de ciuitate dei lib. 13. cap. 2.*

[o] *Idem de Trinitate. lib. 4. c. 14*

[p] *Idem de verbis domini super Matthæum. serm. 6.*

things

thinges of Christ, he may auouch, that Christs soule suffered the true wages of our sin; but if we abhorre these things as sacrilegious and monstrous absurdities, as I doubt not but we do; then certainelie the soule of Christ could not bee dead, no not for an instant, and consequentlie the true wages of our sinne the soule of Christ could not receaue, nor suffer on the crosse, or in the garden: but wee must rather giue eare to Peter, which saith, [q] Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree; where he was quickened in spirite, though mortified in flesh, and strengthened in the inward man by the ioy proposed, for which hee sustained the crosse, and despised the shame thereof. Christ then toke the burden of our sinnes from vs, and laied it on his owne shoulders, yea the Lorde [r] Laid vpon him the iniquity of vs all; but when it came to light vpon him, the verie iustice of God found great difference betwixt his person and ours; and so great, that what should haue condemned vs bodie and soule for euer, that could take no hold on him; but so far forth, as he did voluntarilie yeld himselfe to bee obedient vnto the death of the crosse, and in our flesh to quench the curse of the lawe pronounced against our sinnes; insomuch that neither sinne nor death were able to sease on his bodie, till he did of his owne accord resigne it into their handes. If we thinke it strange to see so much difference betwixt him and vs, we must remember, wee were sinnefull, he was innocent; we were defiled, hee was holie; we were hatefull, he was beloued; we were the seruants of sinne, and enemies vnto God, he was the Lord of life and of glorie; we were seuered and estranged from God both in bodie and soule, his verie flesh was personallie vnited and inseparablie ioined vnto God; besides that himselfe was the true and euerliuing sonne of God. What maruell then if sinne, which should haue wrought in vs an eternall destruction both of body and soule, could not farther preuaile in him, but to the wounding of his flesh, and shedding of his bloud for the iust and full satisfaction of all our sinnes, euen in the righteous and sincere iudgement of God? Though therefore

q 1. Pet. 2

r Esay. 53.

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THE SAME PART might, and did suffer in Christ, which sinned in man, I meane the soule; yet by no meanes could it receaue THE SAME WAGES which we should haue receiued. And since hell is the greatest vengeance, that God inflicteth for sinne, if Christes soule were free from anie, it must nedes be cleered and acquited from that, which is greatest, and most repugnant to the fulnesse of grace, truth and spirit, that dwelt in the humane soule of Christ: but hereof I shall haue occasion to speake afterward againe.

The signes that Christ suffered the paines of hell are left: and those are his agonie in the garden, and his complaint on the crosse, that he was forsaken. Of Christs agonie, since the scriptures haue not reuealed the right cause, it is curiositie to examen, presumption to determine, impossibilitie to conclude certainelie what was the true cause thereof. Howbeit if we will nedes coniecture at causes, wee must take hede, that with our obscure and priuate guesses, we do not contradict such plaine and euident places, as testifie the perfection and coniunction of Christs humane nature with his diuine, and so wrong the person of our Sauiour. This rule remembred (though I bee most willing to refraine the searching of that, which is concealed from vs) yet since they make this the most aduantage of their cause, that there cãnot be anie other reason assigned of Christes sorrow, besides his suffering the paines of hell: I will let you vnderstand how manie there might be besides that which they bring; and that theirs of all others, is least probable, if not altogether intolerable. I will offer you sixe causes, that might be, of Christs agonie; euerie one of them more likelie, and more godlie then this deuise of hell paines; others at their leasures maie thinke on mo, which I shall be content to heare. Those sixe are these. Christs SVBMISSION to the maiestie of God sitting in iudgement; The REIECTION of the Iewes; The DISPERSION of his Church; The LAMENTATION of mans sinne; The DEPRECATION of Gods wrath; The VOLVNTARY DEDICATION of his bloud to be shed for the sinnes of the world,

The signes ỹ Christ did suffer the paines of hell, are his agonie in the garden, and his complaint on the crosse.

Sixe causes that might be of Christs agony in ỹ garden.

and ſanctificatiō of his perſon to offer his true & eternal ſacrifice.

So great is the MAIESTY OF GOD, euerie where and at all times, but ſpecialliе ſitting in iudgment, and ſo farre excelling the capacitie of all his creatures, that no fleſh liuing is able to appeare before him without feare and trembling, [f] The day of the Lord (whenſoeuer hee riſeth to iudge) is great and fearefull, and who ſhall indure it? When God gaue his lawe, which was but the rule of his iudgement, ſo [t] terrible was the ſight, that *Moſes* ſaid, I feare and tremble. [u] My fleſh (ſaith Dauid to God) trembleth for feare of thee, and I am afraide of thy iudgements. Since then it is a point not onelie confeſſed but vrged, by the defenders of this new deuiſe, that Chriſt appeared here before the tribunall of God, to ſubmit himſelfe to his fathers pleaſure; and the wordes of Chriſt in the twelfth of Iohn tend to that effect, where he ſaith, [x] Nowe (euen at hand) is the iudgement of the world. Now (euen ſhortlie) ſhall the prince of this world be caſt out, and if I were lift vp from the earth, I will draw all vnto me: whie might not the humane nature of Chriſt tremble before the maieſtie of that iudge, whoſe glorie the Seraphins in heauen doe not behold without [y] vealing their faces? whereby Chriſt teacheth vs not to preſſe into Gods preſence, whiles wee are laden with ſin, but in much feare and trembling; ſince he would not appeare before God to take our ſinnes on him, but in this agonie.

[f] Ioel. 2

[t] Hebre. 12
[u] Pſalm. 119

[x] Iohn. 12

[y] Eſay. 6

The REIECTION OF THE IEVVES might be another cauſe of his agonie. [z] He wept ouer their cittie, when he beheld it, and remembred the ſubuerſion of it; how woulde he then be grieued when he foreſawe the finall reiection of ỹ whole nation? and his bloud to be laid on them and their children for euer: for their ſakes Moſes deſired [a] To bee wiped out of Gods booke, and Paule [b] could haue wiſhed himſelfe to be ſeparated from Chriſt for his brethren the Iſraelites. If the ſeruants of Chriſt had ſo great heauineſſe and ſorrow in their hearts for their kinſmen according to the fleſh; what agonie muſt it needes breede in their king, and Meſſias, in whome were the bowels of mercie and pittie, to ſee the wicked rage

The reprobation of ỹ Iewes.

[z] Luke. 19

[a] Exod 32
[b] Rom. 9.

of

of the people kindling Gods fearefull vengeance against themselues, and their offspring by putting him to a most cruell and shamefull death, that came to redeeme them from sin and death? This cause is obserued by Ambrose, Hierom, Augustine and Bede. [c] *Nec illud distat à vero, si tristis erat pro persecutoribus:* neither is that dissonant from truth (saith Ambrose) if he were heauy (in soule) for his persecutors, whom hee knewe should dearelie pay for their sacrilegious putting him to death. Hee was not then afraide to die, but hee was loath to haue them though they were euill, to perish; least his passion should bee their destruction, which hee meant for the saluation of all. Christs soule was not heauie (saith Ierom and Bede) [d] for any feare of his passió, but for that most vnhappy Iudas, for the scandall of all his Apostles, for the reiection of the Iewes, and subuersion of wretched Ieruſalem. And Austen, If wee saie the Lorde was sorrowfull (for the Iewes) when his passion drewe neere, where they would commit so haynous a sinne, [e] *non incongruè nos dicere existimo*, I think we speake not without reasó.

[c] *Ambros. in Lucam. lib. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

[d] *Hieron. in Matth. cap. 26*
[d] *Beda in matth. cap. 26.*

[e] *August. in Psal. 87.*

If respect of his persecutors could thus agonize him, what could the regard of his own followers doe? how did the weakneſſe of his owne disciples afflict him, when the wilfulneſſe of his enemies did so preuaile with him? Hee warned his disciples of the danger, and they vaunted of their strength; he willed them to [f] praie, and they slept; and when he was apprehended they did euerie one forsake him; yea the stoutest of them did plainelie forswearе him. Hee might therefore iustlie be grieued with their infirmitie, and earnestlie praie for their securitie. His tender care of them, and earnest praier for them appeareth in the 17. of Iohn, euen as hee entered into the garden; hee called vpon them to [g] watch and praie, that they entred not into temptation. [h] *Dormiunt* (saith Ambrose) *& nesciunt dolere pro quibus Christus dolebat*: the Disciples slept, and cānot tel how to sorrow, for whom Christ sorrowed. *Tristis erat non pro suapassione, sed pro nostra dispersione. Tristis erat, quia nos paruulos relinquebat.* Hee was sorrowfull

The dispersion of his church.

[f] Luke. 22

[g] *Ibidem.*
[h] *Ambros. in Luc. lib 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

not for his owne suffering, but for our dispersing. He was grieued because hee left vs yong and weake? Hilarie in his tenth booke *de Trinitate* largely pursueth this occasion of Christs agonie, & concludeth: [1] *Non ergo sibi tristis erat, neq; sibi orat, sed illis, quos monet orare pernigiles:* Christ is not sorrowfull for himself, nor praieth for himself, but for those who he warneth to watch and pray. And for their sakes he saith, the Angell was sent to comfort Christ, that hee should take no longer griefe and feare for his Disciples. [k] The Angell being sent to protect the Apostles, and the Lord receiuing comfort thereby *Ne pro his tristis esset; iam sine tristitiæ metu ait, dormite & requiescite:* That he should no longer grieue for them, beginneth nowe to be without griefe and feare, and saith to them, sleepe now, and take your rest. [k] *Nam qui nobis tristis est, id est propter nos tristis est, necesse est vt propter nos sit comfortatus, & nobis;* for he that was sorrowfull for our sakes, and in our behalfe, must of force be comforted for vs, and to our vse.

[1] *Hilarius de trinitate, lib* 10.

[k] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Ibidem.*

His sorrow for our sinne.

The desire and care Christ had to see his kept safe from the rage of Satan, leadeth me to the fourth cause of Christs agonie. For if Christ were so sad for our infirmitie, how sorrowfull then was he for our iniquitie, whereby we doe not onelie laie our selues open to danger, but euen wound our selues to death and destruction? Well saith Ambrose of this matter. [1] *Mihi compatitur, mihi tristis est, mihi dolet. Ergo pro me, & in me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit quod doleret. Doles igitur domine Iesu, non tua, sed mea vulnera, non tuam mortem, sed nostram infirmitatem.* Christ is affected for mee, sadde for mee, and greeued for mee. Hee sorroweth for mee, and in mee, who had nothing in himselfe to bee sorowed for. Thou grieuest Lord Iesu, not at thine owne wounds, but at mine; not for thy death but for my weakenesse. Inward sorrow for sin is precisely requisite in all remission of sinnes. To sinne and not to be sorie for it, is first to displease, and then to despise God. Wherefore it is not possible to appease Gods wrath once prouoked, but with earnest and hartie sorrowe what euer we offended. Then as corruption is the mother, and

[1] *Ambrose de fide lib.* 2. *cap.* 3.

plea-

pleasure is the life of sinne: so the inward affliction and contrition of the soule in all the godlie, is the death of sinne. And since we are neither willing, nor able to sorrow sufficientlie for our sinnes, why might not the son of God, when hee toke vpon him the purgation of our sins in his own person, take likewise vnto him that inward & earnest sorrow for our sins, which neuer creature before him, or besides him did, or could expresse? [m] Godly sorrow causeth (in vs) repentance vnto saluation; and a [n] troubled spirit is a sacrifice vnto God. Of this kind of sorrow to supplie the weakenes and want of true repentance in vs all, and to teach vs heartilie to lament our sins, the more wee attribute vnto the soule of our Sauiour, the more sufficient euerie way we make his satisfaction for sin, that did not onelie render recompence by his life, and suffer vengeance by his death for our sins, but so deepelie sorrowed for them that in his agonie, aboue nature, he sweate bloud after a strange and marueilous maner.

[m] 2. Cor. 7.
[n] Psal. 51.

The fift cause of Christs agonie, might be the cup of gods wrath, tempered and made readie for the sinnes of men. [o] In the hand of the Lorde is a cuppe (saith Dauid) it is mixed full; the wine thereof is redde, all the wicked of the earth shall wring and drinke the dregges thereof. In this cuppe are all manner of plagues and punishmentes for sinne, as well spirituall, as corporall; eternall, as temporall. The mixture of which cuppe Christ perfectlie knowing; and carefullie shunning the dregges thereof, earnestlie prayed this cuppe might passe from him. I knowe diuers men haue diuerslie expounded these wordes of Christ, some thereby collecting two willes shewed in Christ, a diuine and humane, the one submitting it selfe to the other: some noting a difference betwixt the vnwillingnesse of our flesh, and readinesse of the spirite, euen in the manhoode of Christ: some also thinking that Christ corrected and reuoked his petition, suddenly slipt from him, by the vehemencie of griefe, which tooke from him the present remembrance of gods heauenly decree. In this varietie of iudgements, to refuse

The deprecation of Gods wrath.
[o] Psal. 75

none that agreeth any way with the rules of truth, Christ might behold three things in the cuppe of Gods wrath, and by his praier accordinglie decline them; to wit, eternal malediction, corporall castigation aboue his strength, and the separation of his bodie by death from the fruition of God.

Christ might pray against the eternal malediction of our sinnes.

What was due to our sinnes Christ could not be ignorant; and as he became man to quicken our souls that were dead, not to kill his owne; and to bring vs to God, not to seuer himselfe from God: so knowing what our sinnes deserued, he might intentiuelie pray to haue That cup passe from him, which was prepared for vs; & was heard in that he declined or feared. P Christ (saith Paule) in the dayes of his flesh did offer vp praiers and supplications to him, that was able to saue him from death, and was heard ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, for the reuerence had of him; for so Chrysostome, Theodorete, Oecumenius and others not vnlearned (as I thinke) in the Greeke tongue doe interprete the worde; or as others delight rather to say: He was heard in that he feared; εὐλάβεια signifying feare and care, as wel as reuerence. q Paule meaneth that praier (saieth Theodorete) which CHRIST made before his passion, when he said, Father if it be possible let this cup passe from me. And in deed but in the garden, Christ neuer praied with strong cries and teares to be saued from death, that we read in the scriptures: and He was heard (saith the Apostle) in that he feared or shunned. From the death of the crosse hee was not saued, that therfore was not the effect of his praier; for he was heard in that hee asked. He desired therefore to be saued from ETERNALL death, and that the cup of Gods euerlasting malediction might passe from him, and in that he was heard.

P Heb. 5.

q Theodoret in c. 5. epist. ad Heb.

[At least then (will they say) Christ feared euerlasting death, against which he instantlie praied with strog cries & tears.] The number of our sinnes, and power of Gods wrath hee coulde not chose but see, being ordained the sauiour of the world, to beare the one, and appease the other; and therefore if we grant that the sight of both, did for the time somewhat astonish the humane nature of Christ, aduisedly considering the

the waight of both, I see no great inconuenience therein, so long as they impeached nothing in the soule of Christ, but a religious feare to Sorrow for the one, and to pray against the other. But distrust of his owne saluation, or doubt of Gods displeasure against himselfe, we cannot so much as imagine in Christ, without euident want of grace, and losse of Faith; which we may not attribute to Christs person, no not for an instant. It is weakenesse of faith in vs to feare, or forget the promises of God, when the conscience of sinne accuseth vs. What then will it be for the soule of Christ, after so manie promises and oathes made by God, to annoint and send the Sauiour of the world, after so manie cleere and full assurances of Gods loue and fauour towards his person, to stagger at the certaintie of Gods counsell, at the light of his owne knowledge, and at the truth of his fathers voice so often denounced, and confirmed with thunder from heauen? I refraine to speake what wrong it is, to put either doubtfulnes, or forgetfulnesse of these thinges in any part of Christes humane nature.

[Why then did he praie that the cup might passe from him?] he had no need to pray for himself, but onely for vs; who then suffered with him, and in him. On vs it might haue staied being seuered from him, as the full wages of our sin: against him it could not preuaile, because nothing could befall him either against his will, or vnfit for the sonne of God. Wherefore the force and effect of his praier chieflie concerned vs, Being then comprised in his bodie, in which wee were crucified, buried, and raised, togither with him. And touching himselfe, albeit the innocencie of his cause, the holinesse of his life, the merit of his obedience, the aboundance of his spirit, the loue of his father, and vnitie of his person, did most sufficientlie gard him from all danger, and doubt of eternal death; yet to shew the perfection of his humilitie, he would not suffer his humane nature to require it of right, but prostrate on the earth besought his Father, That cuppe might passe.

Christ praied as the heade of his bodie, and so one person with his members.

Galath. 2. Rom. 6. Colos. 3.

passe from him, and was heard in that he shunned, or auoided. For though God were long before resolued to accept the death and bloud of his sonne for the sinnes of the world; yet by this meanes Christ did see howe derelie God loued him, that for his sake, and at his request released the iust vengeance of mans sinne, & toke the cup of eternall malediction not from him onlie, but from vs all at his mediation: howbeit to shew the confidence he had in his father, and to bring his obedience to the highest degrée that might be; hee did after his religious dislike of that cup, which wee had deserued, simplie and wholie submit himselfe to his fathers pleasure, without anie condition or exception, in saying to his father; [r] Not as I will, but as thou wilt: Not thereby striking any terror of hell into the sence of his flesh, as some would haue it; but fully resting on his fathers will and goodnesse towardes him, as in the surest hauen of his hope, and our helpe, against all the power of death and hell.

[r] Matth. 26

Christ might desire the punishment of our sinnes to be proportioned to the strength of his humane flesh.

A second thing which Christ might iustlie feare, and earnestlie praie against, (though his soule were neuer so safe,) was the power of Gods wrath to be executed on his bodie, vnlesse it pleased God to lighten the burden of mans sinne. For God was armed with infinite vengeance to afflict and punish the bodie, aboue that the humane flesh of Christ was able to endure. Since therefore Christ was not orelie with meekenesse to beare, but with al willingnes to offer to abide the hand of God laid vpon him, by what meanes soeuer; hee might pray that the cup of his passion might be proportioned to the strength of his flesh, which was but weake in respect of Gods power; and therein also he was heard. For the cup which his father gaue him to drinke by the hands of the wicked, did passe from him, without oppressing his patience, or shaking his obedience.

Christ might pray against death, not as weaker but as perfecter then others.

Thirdlie Christ might feare his verie passion; not as weaker in courage then martyrs or malefactors, but as perfecter in nature then either of them. The more we enioie the

presence

presence of God in soule or in bodie; the greater griefe it will be, and must be to lacke the sence hereof, euen for a short time. The flesh of Christ then, which had not onelie a personall coniunction, but also a wonderfull fruition of God aboue all men liuing, might well be loath to leaue the same, and yéld to death, not as timorous through infirmitie, but as desirous in pietie to keepe that sence and feeling of Gods presence, which not onlie the soules, but also the bodies of his Saintes shall hereafter enioie; and which Christ had here on earth in greater measure, then we can expresse, as being personallie vnited to the diuine nature, though as yet not glorified with immortalitie.

And where some auouch, it had beene in Christ a shamefull niceneſſe to be so afflicted with the feare of his passion; albeit S. Augustine saie well: [f] *Non est vllo modo dubitandum, non eum animi infirmitate, sed potestate turbatum*; We may by no meanes doubt that Christ was troubled not for any weakeneſſe of hart, but through (his owne) power: yet Cyril granteth that Christ as a man abhorred and feared death, and addeth that except he had voluntarilie shewed our feare in himselfe, and quenched it, we had neuer beene freed from it. [t] *Omnia Christus perpessus est, vt nos ab omnibus liberaret. Sicut igitur nisi mortuus esset, mors non extingueretur: sic nisi timuisset, non essemus nos à metu liberati: nisi doluisset non cessassent dolores nostri.* Christ suffered all, that he might free vs from al. As therefore except he had died, death had not beene conquered; so vnleſſe he had feared, we had not beene deliuered from feare; and if he had not sorrowed, our sorrowes could not haue ceased. And in like manner shalt thou finde all the passions of (our) flesh, to haue beene stirred in Christ, but without sinne, that beeing stirred they might be represſed, by the power of the godheade dwelling in him, and our nature by that meanes reduced to a better temper. Ambrose in other wordes saieth as much. [u] *Sequestrata delectatione diuinitatis æternæ; tædio meæ infirmitatis afficitur. Suscepit enim tristitiam meam, vt mihi suam lætitiam largiretur, &*

[f] *August. tract. 60. in Iohannem.* Christ cured our infirmities in his owne person.

[t] *Cyril. thesauri. lib. 10. cap. 3.*

Ambrosius in Lucam lib. 10. de tristitia dolore & tædio

vestigijs nostris descendit vsque ad mortis ærumnam, vt nos suis vestigijs reuocaret ad vitam. Debuit ergo & dolorem suscipere, vt vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet; & nos disceremus in Christo, quemadmodum futuræ mortis mæstitiam vinceremus. And so he concludeth. *Hic alto operatur effectu, vt quia in carne sua, peccata nostra perimebat, mærorem quoque animæ nostræ, suæ animæ mærore aboleret.* Laying aside the delight of his æternall deitie, (Christ) is affected with the tediousnesse of my infirmity, and deiected himselfe to feele the griefe of death as we doe, that by following his steps he might reduce vs to life: hee was therefore to admit sorrowe that he might conquer sorrowe, and not keepe it off; and wee to learne in Christ howe we should ouercome the feare of death approching. (In his agonie) hee wrought with a deepe effect, that because in his flesh hee killed our sinnes, he might also with the sorrow of his soule extinguish the sorrowe of our soules. So the sorrowe and feare of death, which it pleased our sauiour to feele in our nature came not for want of strength: but of purpose to quench and abolish those affections and passions in vs, that the faithfull for euer might bee freed from them, through his grace working in their hearts. And therefore we haue no cause to excuse, much lesse to reproch Christes weakenesse, but rather to admire his power, and praise his mercie, that would submit himselfe to these infirmities of our nature, thereby to cure them in vs, and to strengthen vs against them; and to make vs partakers of his wonderfull courage, and patience, the steps whereof we may daily find, not in martyrs onelie, but in all his members, when they are tried with anie kinde of outwarde or inward affliction.

We must prefer Christs suffering before all martyrs, not for his paines, but for his patience.

Howbeit, I may not omit, how great an ouersight it is to conclude, that Christ, if he feared death in his agony, was far feebler then martyrs which fulfillie die; yea, then malefactors which oftentimes go to their death verie resolutely. The desperat onelie of the wicked which haue neither feare nor care of God, till they feele the force of his wrath in hell fire, is no fit

comparison

comparison for the sonne of God, no more then the sinke of sinne is to sweeten the fountaine of grace; I will therefore shippe that ouer with silence. But if death bee not fearefull to the seruants of Christ, as indeede it is not, they are the more bound to their Lord and master, who in his owne person to make the waie easie for them, with the losse of his life disarmed death for euer, and brake the chaines in sunder wherewith death and hell were coupled together. For Christ was the first that by seuering death from the terror and power of hell, made the stroke of death contemptible to all the godlie; which otherwise was and would haue bene the harbinger of hell. So that when death presented it selfe to the sight of our sauiour purposing to redeeme the world, it came so fast clasped with hell; that none but the sonne of God could dissolue the band, wherewith they were linked. And therfore Christ had far greater cause then anie of his members, to feare; and with earnest praier to decline the taste of death, which did wound both bodie and soule with euerlasting destruction, if he did not take awaie the sting thereof; and by his sundring the one from the other, (which was the hope of all his saints, before he died, and faith of al the godlie since) death was and is to all beleeuers no cause of feare, but rest from their labors, and passage to a better life. The feare then which Christ had and shewed of death, was either the curing of our infirmities in his flesh; or the breaking the knot betwixt death and hell, which none but he was able to doe; or the mitigating of Gods anger, which might be executed on his bodie, or lastlie the desire hee had to continue the feeling and enioying of Gods presence, and coherence with bodie and soule in the vnitie of his person: and if in anie of these wee charge Christ with niceneſſe, wee knowe not what we saie, except we will bee guiltie in a worse issue, which I perswade my selfe was no part of their meaning, that first broched this matter.

The last cause of Christs agony might be the sanctifying of himselfe to praie for trangressors, and the voluntarie dedi- Christ might by his agony voluntarilie dedicate his

bloud to mans redemption.

cating of his bloud to bee shed for the redemption of mankinde: for where some conjecture Christ did sweate bloud for feare, Hilarie plainelie denieth it, and saieth, [x] *Sudorem nemo audebit infirmitati deputare; quia & contra naturam est sudare sanguinem, nec infirmitas est, quod potestas, non secundum naturæ consuetudinem, gessit.* No man shoulde dare attribute (Christs bloudy) sweate to infirmitie, because it is against nature to sweat bloud, and can bee no weakenes, which power did aboue the course of nature. Austen maketh it a signification of the martyrs bloud, that should willinglie bee shedde throughout the church for the testimonie of the truth. [y] *Ideo toto corpore sanguinē sudauit, quia in corpore suo, id est Ecclesia, Martyrum sanguinem ostendit.* Christ sweat bloud along all his bodie, to this ende, that he might shew the bloud of martyrs in his bodie, which is the church. Prosper agreeth with S. Augustine in iudgement and faith. [z] *Orans cum sudore sanguineo dominus Iesus, significabat de toto corpore, quod est Ecclesia, emanaturas martyrum passiones.* The Lorde Iesus praying with a bloudy sweat, signified the sufferings of the martyrs that should be in his whole body which is the church. Bede there by noteth that Christes praier made for his Apostles was heard, and that by his bloud he should not onelie redeeme the fruitfe of his disciples, but quicken the whole earth being dead in their sinnes. [a] *Nemo sudorem hunc infirmitati deputet, sed intelligat per irrigatam sacratamque eius sanguine terram non sibi, qui noverat, sed nobis apertè declaratum, quod effectum suæ precis iam obtineret, vt fidem discipulorum, quam terrena adhuc fragilitas arguebat, suo sanguine purgaret, & quicquid illa scandali de eius morte pertulisset, hoc totum ipse moriendo deleret; immo vniuersum latè terrarum orbem peccatis mortuum, sua innocua morte cælesti rursus resuscitaret ad vitam.* Let no man attribute Christs bloudie sweat to infirmitie, but rather learne that by sprinkling and hallowing the earth with his bloud it was declared, not to him who knewe it, but vnto vs, that he had obtained the effect of his praier, with his bloud to purge the faith of his Disciples, which earth

[x] *Hilar. lib. 10 de trinitate.*

[y] *August. in Psalm. 93.*

[z] *Prosper sententi. ex August. sent. 68.*

[a] *Bede in Luc. cap. 22.*

lie

lie frailtie did weaken, and whatsoeuer offence (the earth) had taken at his death, al that he dying should abolish, yea with his innocent death he should raise vnto an heauenlie life the whole world then dead in their sinnes. Bernard taketh hold on S. Pauls wordes, where hee calleth Christes sweate by the name of teares: and saith, *Ventum est adorationem, & vsque tertiò factus in Agonia orabat; vbi quidem non solis oculis, sed quasi omnibus membris fleuisse videtur, vt totū corpus eius, quod est ecclesia, totius corporis lachrymis purgaretur.* Christ came to praier, and being in an agony he praied thrise: where he seemed to weepe, not onelie with his eies, but with all the parts of his body; that the whole body of his Church might bee purged with the teares of his whole body. *Bernard in ramis palmarum sermon. 3.*

S. Paul alleageth the cries and teares of Christ in the garden as a proofe of his priesthood, & saith, that not onlie [b] He offered praiers & supplications, which was one part of ỳ priests office, wherein hee was heard for the reuerence had of him: But also τελειωθεὶς, being sanctified, to offer sacrifice, (for so the word doth often signifie,) or else consummated by the offering of himselfe on the crosse, (which was the other part of his priestlie function) was made authour of eternall saluation to all that obey him, being thus called and allowed of God to bee an high priest after the order of *Melchizedec*. Christ readie to enter the garden saith, [c] *Pro eis sanctifico meipsum*; for their sakes I sanctifie my selfe: and sanctification properlie belonged to the priestes person, before hee might appeare in Gods presence to offer for the sinnes of the people; and by the rite of Moses lawe, the priestes, when they were sanctified vnto God, had their bodies [d] sprinkled with the bloud of their sacrifice from top to toe. Christ then being the truth of all their figures as well in the sanctification, as oblation of himselfe, might miraculouslie sprinkle his whole bodie with his own bloud: (for it was aboue nature as Hilarie noteth) and so consecrate his person, as appointed of God, to be the true priest after the order of Melchizedec, and voluntarilie dedicate his bloud to [b] Hebe. 5.

Or sanctifie his person to offer the true sacrifice for sinne.

[c] Iohn. 17

[d] Exod. 29.

be shed for the remission of our sinnes, which hee did of his owne accord yeeld, to be disposed of at his fathers pleasure, before the Iewes or Gentiles wounded his bodie, that his whole passion which followed, might bee a willing sacrifice, and no forced violence by the handes or weapons of the wicked. Christes agonie then being alleaged by the Apostle to demonstrate Christs priesthood, must not rise from the terror of his own death, but rather from the vehemencie of his prayer for vs, that it might bee aswell an intercession for sinners, as a sanctification of himselfe, to offer the sacrifice auaileable for the sinnes of the world. To which if anie will adde the signification of the martyrs bloud, which Austen speaketh of, as if Christ in the garden did not onelie present his owne bloud to be the true propitiation of our sinnes, but also the bloud of his martyrs, to make their death acceptable to God, that willinglie laide downe their liues for the witnes of his truth; I can be well content to admit that exposition, considering Christ must offer both the liues and deathes of all his saintes to God his father, before they can be holie or precious in his sight.

The suffering of hell paines not ŷ cause of Christs agony.

But since Christes feare (as they expound the Apostles words Hebre. 5.) is made the groundworke of this conceipt, let vs see whether their owne foundation will not ouerthrow their owne building. The paines of hell, did Christ when hee prayed in the garden, feare them or no? if hee did not feare them, hee did not feele them; for they are fearefull: yea the verie [e] expectation of them is verie dreadful, as the Apostle saith Hebre. 10; and if he feared them not, howe could they bee the cause of his agonie, which these men so stiffie maintaine? If he feared them, he was freed from them, as they themselues interprete the worde εὐλάβεια, for hee was heard in that he feared. His prayer was to haue that cup passe from him, and God neuer denied whatsoeuer he asked. [f] I know (saith Christ to his father) that thou heares me alwaies. Whence they conclude, he feared hell paines, thence I infer he

[e] Hebre. 10

[f] Ioh. 11.

hee suffered them not. for being deliuered from the feare of hell approching, he could not be left vnder the burden of hell abiding. Againe, if the suffering of hell were the cause of Christs agony, the cause continuing, the effect could not cease. But his agonie ended in the garden; how then could the paines of hell endure on the crosse, and be lengthened almost to the end of his life? Ierome saith vpon these wordes of Christ to his disciples, [Arise let vs go:] s least they finde vs, as though we were fearefull, and drawing backe, let vs of our owne accorde goe towardes them; *vt confidentiam, & gaudium passuri videant*; that they may see the confidence and gladnesse (of Christ) going to his passion.

s *Hieron. in Matth. ca. 26*

The continuance of Christes agonie they proue by his complaint on the crosse, where not long before he yelded vp his spirit, he cried; h My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and these words, they saie, do plainelie conuince, that Christ felt himselfe forsaken of God, and that this was the true cause of his agonie, what soeuer pretences are inuented by others to excuse, or colour his feare. Indeede this place must beare the burden of the whole frame; for the rest are onlie signes of sorrowe and zeale, the scriptures not expressing the cause; but here are manifest wordes if wee mistake not their reference. i My father is greater then I am, were words as cleare as daie light: but the referring that to the diuine which hee spake of his humane nature, is the Arrian heresie. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee; are not so plaine. for the saints of God haue often complained vnto God that they were forsaken of him, when he withdrew neither his fauour, grace, nor spirit from them; but onelie withholde his helpe or comfort for the time, to make them more earnest to seeke and flie to him. But were they neuer so pregnant, if we applie them to the wrong part, which God neuer forsoke, we may incurre as grosse an errour as euer did Arius. And yet if we straine them to the vttermost, they will neuer proue that Christ on the crosse suffered the paines of hell.

h *Matth. 27.*

What is meant by Christs complaint on the crosse that he was forsaken.

i *Iohn. 14.*

hell. For if we should grant, which were diuelish impietie to thinke, that God forsoke Christes soule as verelie, as euer hee did anie of the wicked heere on earth, Cain, Saul, Iudas not excepted; yet that doth not conclude he suffered the true paines of hell. For those in this life did not suffer as much, as their soules doe now in hell, make their case neuer so desperate. And therefore I marualle howe wise men were bewitched with the sound of these wordes, which hence resolued that out of all question, Christ suffered the paines of the damned in hell, where as the wordes inferre no such thing, though we stretch them neuer so farre. For in spite of our hearts, before we can bring that conclusion to follow, this must be the ioinfure of our reason. All men any way forsaken of God in this life are in the true paines of hell: Christ was forsaken of God, *ergo* he was in the true paines of hell. Now howe fond, false, and absurd the generall assertion is, that all anie way forsaken of God, are in the true paines of hell, to men of learning and religion néedeth no long discourse. Cain was a [k] runnagate and accursed by Gods mouth: Esau was a [l] prophane person, and [m] hated of God; Saul was verie desperate when he sought to the witch, for God was [n] departed from him, and become his enemie; Iudas was the [o] sonne of perdition, and a [p] diuell: yea manie were starke mad, and possessed with diuels; and yet none of them in those verie tormentes, which are reserued for the damned in hell. The [q] Gentiles as Paul saith, were strangers from the life of God, and had [r] no hope, and were without God in the world, yet were they not in the paines of hell, here on earth. But I hope we be not so far drowned in the depth of hell, that wee will for our fansie range the sonne of God, and saiuour of the world, in this rable of wicked and desperate castawaies; and yet though men could be so dangerouslie deuoted to their dreames, this preuaileth not their purpose. Desperation they may stumble at, if they will presse the words without anie difference betweene the dereliction of Gods saintes and his enemies; but tolera-

The wicked are here forsaken, and yet not in hell.

[k] Genes. 4
[l] Hebre. 12
[m] Rom. 9.
[n] 1 Samuel 28
[o] Iohn. 17
[p] Iohn. 6
[q] Ephes. 4. 18
[r] Ephes. 2, 12.

tion

tion of hell paines these words will neuer conclude, vnlesse we make hell to be no iudgement, nor punishment after this life, but onelie a terror and horror of conscience, such as pursueth the wicked here in reuenge of their sinnes.

When the godlie complaine, as often they do in the scriptures, that they were forsaken of God, it is not onlie a plaine absurditie, but a grosse impietie to conclude of their words, that they then suffered the verie paines of the damned in hell. For example, Sion, which is the whole church of God, saith in the prophet Esay, [f] the Lorde hath forsaken me: and God himselfe assureth her words to bee true, [t] For a while I forsooke thee, for a moment in mine anger, I hid my face from thee: Was the whole church for that time in the true paines of hell? Dauid saith of himselfe, [u] Thou hast reiected and abhorred, thou hast beene angrie with thine annointed. Was Dauid then in the verie paines of the damned? of his whole realme he saith; [x] O God thou hast cast vs off, and beene angry with vs. Did all the people then suffer the torments of hell? reiecting and abhorring are wordes of greater dislike, and more detestation, then forsaking; and yet they infer not the paines of hell. Why then doe wee so fondlie misconster the one, when we well inough vnderstande the other? why stumble we at a strawe, when we cannot step ouer a blocke? To be forsaken of God as the wicked are, is to bee depriued of his fauour, grace, and spirit: and yet they are not forthwith in hell. To be forsaken, as the godlie complaine they are, is to be voide of comfort, or destitute of helpe, when their enemies assault or afflict them, which is nothing neere the state of the damned. For as God is said to be present by his gifts and graces: so he hideth his face, or forsaketh vs, when he refraineth his eie from watching, his eare from hearing, or his hand from helping vs in the miseries and aduersities of this life.

How the godly are forsaken.

[f] Esay 49.
[t] Esay. 54

[u] Psalm. 89

[x] Psalm. 60

If I be thought partiall, let vs heare what the ancient and learned fathers purposelie write of our sauiours complaint

on the croſſe; in whome I finde ſundrie, and all godlie expoſitions, according with the truth of the ſcriptures, and no way bending or inclining to this late deuiſe of hell paines.

1. Diuers expoſitions of the fathers, how Chriſt was forſaken on the croſſe.

The firſt; that as Chriſt is our heade, and we his members in ſuch ſort ioyned in one bodie with him, that hee ſuffereth in vs, and we in him; ſo were we not onlie crucified and buried, but alſo raiſed, and glorified in him, and with him; and therefore hee ſhewed and vttered manie thinges in his paſſion, which ought to be referred directlie to vs, and not to him, but as bearing our perſon, and ſpeaking in our names. My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken mee? [z] *Hanc in ſe vocem transfigurauit Ieſus, vocem corporis ſui, hoc eſt eccleſiæ.* This ſpeech Chriſt transferred to himſelfe, (ſaith *Auſten*) being the ſpeach of his body, which is the church. The church ſuffered then in him, when he ſuffered for the church, euen as hee ſuffered in the church, when the church ſuffered for him. And as we heard the voice of the church ſuffering in Chriſt, when he ſaide; my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me: ſo haue we heard the voice of Chriſt ſuffering in his church, when hee ſaide; *Saul, Saul*, why perſecuteſt thou mee? And againe; [a] *quid voluit dicere dominus? non enim dereliquerat illũ deus, cum ipſe eſſet deus, atque filius dei. Quare dicitur, niſi quia nos ibi eramus, niſi quia corpus Chriſti eccleſia?* Why would the Lord ſaie, my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? God had not forſaken him, for ſo much as he was God, and the ſon of God. Why then was it ſaid, but becauſe we were there in him, & the church which was his bodie? [b] *Sub redemptorum ſuorum voce clamabat, deus deus meus, quare me dereliquiſti?*, In the name of his redeemed Chriſt ſaid, my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me: [c] *Ex noſtra perſona verba illa proloquitur, non enim ipſe à deo deſtitutus fuit, ſed nos.* In our perſon Chriſt ſpeaketh theſe wordes, for he was not forſaken of God, but we.

[z] *Auguſt. epiſtola. 120.*

[a] *Idem in Pſalmum. 21.*

[b] *Leo de paſſio. ſerm. 16.*

[c] *Athanaſius de incarnat. Chriſti.*

The ſecond expoſition of theſe wordes is, that Chriſtes humane nature was not protected from the rage of the Iewes, but left without helpe in the power of his enemies, to bee

2.

vſed

vsed at their pleasures, which he calleth a kind of forsaking. For God then seemeth to leaue vs, whē he doth not defend vs from the furie of our foes, which seeke our ouerthrow. [d] *Erat aliqua causa, eaque non parua, quare Christum de manibus Iudæorum non liberaret deus, eumque in potestate sæuientium, vsque ad mortis exitum derelinqueret.* There was a cause, saieth Augustine, and that no small cause, why God did not deliuer Christ out of the handes of the Iewes, but let him alone in the power of his pursuers, vntill he died. [e] *Vt homo loquitur meos circumferens metus, quod in periculis positi a domino deseri nos putamus.* Christ speaketh as a man (saith Ambrose) bearing about him my feares, for ỹ we, when we are in danger, think our selues forsaken of God. [f] *Ne mireris querimonias derelicti; cum scandalum crucis videas.* Maruaile not at Christes complaint that he was forsaken, when as thou seest how he was vsed on the crosse. [g] *Derelictus est Christus pro parte carnis.* Christ was forsaken in his passion as touching his flesh.

[d] *August epist. 120.*

[e] *Ambros. de fide lib. 2. cap. 3.*

[f] *Hieron in ca. 27 Matthæ.*

[g] *Idē in Psal. 21*

A third is, that Christs godhead together with his humane soule were then departing from his bodie, and leauing it vnto death. Tertullian, (*Deus*) *Filium* [h] *dereliquit, cum hominem eius tradidit in mortē. Ita relinqui a patre, fuit mori filio.* God forsooke his sonne, in that he deliuered his humanity vnto death. So for the sonne to die, was to be forsaken of his father. Hilarie, [i] *Habes conquerentem se esse relictum ad mortem, quia homo est: vt intelligentia nostra sit, & homo mortuus, & deus regnans.* Thou heardest Christ complaine that hee was left vnto death, that we should conceiue he died as a man, he raigned as a God. And againe; [k] *Clamor ad deum, corporis vox est, recedentis a se verbi dei contestata dissidium: relinquitur, quia erat homo etiam mortē peragendus.* Christes complaint vnto God, that hee was forsaken, is the voice of his body, testifying the separation of the diuine nature from it for a time. He is forsaken, because he was a man to be consummated by his death. Epiphanius saith, hee spake these words, [l] When he saw his deitie with his soule readie to depart from the person of his humanity & to forsake his body.

3.

[h] *Tertul. aduersus Praxeam.*

[i] *Hilar. lib. 10 de Trinitate.*

[k] *Idem in Matth. ca. 33.*

[l] *Epiph. lib. 2. t. 2. contra Arianitas.*

4 A fourth is, that where God for sin had refused and forsaken man, euen from the fall of Adam, Christ nowe exalted on the tree, reconciled mankind vnto God, and slue hatred, making peace by his prayer betwixt God & man. *Cyril:* [m] whē Adam transgressed the diuine commaundement, mans nature was after a sort forsaken of God, and therby subiected to a curse and death. These words of Christ therfore, *Erant soluentis manifestè derelictionem quæ nobis acciderat, & quasi placantis in hoc patrē &c.* Were the manifest remouing of that derelictiō, which fel on vs, and as it were an appeasing his father, and procuring his fauor towards vs, as towards himself. *Basil:* [n] *Dicit hæc dominus, primitiæ humanæ naturæ pro vniuersa.* The lord speaketh these words for all mankind, as being the first fruits of mās nature. Otherwise of his own person it is true that Athanasius saith. [o] *Neq; enim à patre derelinqui potuit, quia semper est in patre & antequam hanc vocem ederet & postquam edidisset. Ecce enim dicente, cur me dereliquisti: ostendit pater se vt semper antea, ita tum quoq; in filio fuisse.* He could not be forsaken of his father, who was alwaies in his father, both before and after he spake these words. Behold as hee vttered these words (why hast thou forsaken me) the father shewed himselfe to be euen then in his sonne, as he was at all times before. For the earth feeling the weight of her Lord, straight wayes trembled, the vaile rent, the Sunne darkened, the stones claue, the dead rose.

[m] *Cyril de recta fide ad reginas.*

[n] *Basil. in Psal. 21.*

[o] *Athan. contra Arrianos serm. 4.*

5 The fift, that Christ putteth vs in mind by these wordes to acknowledge the cause, why God doth often not heare our prayers, but in refusing our desires prouideth better for vs, then if we had our wils. [p] *Vox ista, quare me dereliquisti, doctrina est, nō querela. Nam cum in Christo dei & hominis vna sit persona, nec ab eo potuerit relinqui, à quo non poterat separari, pro nobis trepidis & infirmis interrogat, cur caro pati metuens exaudita non fuerit.* This speach (saith Leo) My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, is an instruction, and no complaint: For where in Christ there is but one person of God and man, and he could not be forsaken of God, from whom he could not bee separated,

[p] *Leo de Pass. serm. 16.*

parated, he asketh the question for vs that are fearefull & weak, why flesh fearing to suffer is not heard. q *Vnde ipsa vox non exaudiri, magni est expositio sacramenti: quòd nihil humano generi conferret redemptoris potestas, si quod petebat nostra obtineret infirmitas.* The verie wordes of him, that was not heard, open to vs a great mysterie, to witte, that the power of the redeemer coulde doe mankinde no good, if our infirmitie might obtaine what it woulde aske. Origen saith: r In respect of that, in which consisted the inuisible forme of God, Christ was forsaken of his father, where hee tooke the shape of a seruant, and came to the death of the Crosse, which amongst men was most shamefull. So that for Christ to become man, and to suffer on the Crosse, was to bee forsaken of God, in comparison of that glorie, which hee had with his Father before all woorldes.

q *Ibidem.*

r *Origen in Mat. cap. 27.*

6

The last exposition is, that when the Iewes reproched Christ on the Crosse, as reiected of God, he with a loud voice, that all might hear, sang or cited the beginning of the 21. Psalme, wherein it was by the Prophet Dauid foreshewed, that the true Messias and sauiour of the woorlde should suffer all those wronges, and shames, which they had heaped on him: and thereby taught them, that they had s gathered themselues togither to do whatsoeuer the hand and counsaile of God had determined before to be done. t The Lord (saith Ierom) hanging on the Crosse, vseth this verse, My God my God, why hast thou forsaken me; by which wee perceiue, that in the Crosse he sang the whole Psalme, as directly pertaining to his passiō. u Christ spake these words (saith Chrysostom) that the Iewes might know hee honoured his father to the last breath, and that God was not his enemie (as they obiected:) for which cause he vsed the Prophet *Dauids* words, to verifie or fulfill the scripture of the old testament.

s *Act. 4.*

t *Hieron. in Psa. 21.*

u *Chrysost. hom. in Mat. 89.*

All these interpretations are sound, and stand well with the rules of christian pietie, without dishonouring the person, or disturbing the faith of Christ: therfore I cannot but maruel

If Christs soule were forsaken, he had neither faith, hope, nor loue.

what reason our late writers had to refuse them all, and deuise another exposition of their owne which implieth not onlie desperation in Christs soule, if wee presse the wordes, and the dissolution of Christes person, but an euident contradiction to all that Christ did, or saide on the crosse, or in iudgement after the Iewes had once laide handes on him. For if these wordes be referred to the soule of Christ, and import a generall and true derelication, which must be supposed, before the paines of hell can thence be concluded; Christ feeling and confessing himselfe to bee forsaken of God, couldo haue neither faith, nor hope. For he that beleeueth, and hopeth in God, cannot truelie saie, that God hath forsaken his soule; he may complaine that God doth not deliuer him from dangers and troubles assaulting him; which the weakenesse of man thinketh a kinde of forsaking. [x] Mine enemies (saith Dauid) take counsell, saying, God hath forsaken him, pursue him, there is none to deliuer him. But this is no forsaking of the soule, so long as that part of man trusteth in God, which is created chiefelie to enioie God. Nowe by faith, hope, and loue, the soule of man enioieth God in this life; and hee that enioieth God is not forsaken of God. Yea whosoeuer hopeth in him, neither is nor euer shall be forsaken. [y] For hope doth not confound, [z] was there euer any confounded, that put his trust in the Lorde? or who hath continued in his feare, and hath beene forsaken? or whome did he euer despise that called vpon him? Then if out of these wordes we will infer, that Christes soule was truelie forsaken of God, it cannot bee auoided, but this inwarde perswasion in Christ (that his soule was forsaken) durst from the time of his agonie in the garden, till his complaint on the crosse (which was aboue 18. houres) was manifest desperation: vnlesse wee saie Christ was deceiued in so thinking, which is as great an errour on the other side. For if his faith, hope, and loue were still fixed on God, and no waie decaied, he could with no truth saie, that his soule was vtterlie forsaken.

[x] Psal. 71.

[y] Rom. 5.

[z] Eccles. 2

Against

Againe, the soule that is forsaken of God must needes be separated from God. [a] For he that cleaueth vnto the Lorde, is one spirit with him, so not forsaken of him. If then Christs soule were seuered from God, it could haue no mutuall congruence, much lesse naturall coherence with God. There must bee a spirituall communion in grace, or else there can be no personall vnion in nature. As the soule doth communicate her effects to the bodie, with which shee is coupled: so must the deitie make the humane nature of Christ partaker of those graces and gifts, which make come from the godhead, before we can truly saie, that the one is personallie ioyned with the other. The participation and fruition of God is not in words or thoughtes, but in deedes and effects. In whom then the spirit of God dwelleth not, with his force and fruites, let him neuer deceiue his hart, that he hath any fellowship with God. Nowe in Christ was the fulnesse of Gods spirit and grace. God [b] measured not his spirit to him, but of his fulnesse we all haue receaued. So that if the fulnesse of grace failed in the soule of Christ, the vnitie of his person was vtterly dissolued. For without a communion, there can be no conjunctiō of two natures in Christ. If there were an effectuall and full communion, there could be no reall nor generall derelietion. Insomuch that the verie flesh of Christ, though it were left vnto death; yet was it not vtterlie forsaken of the deitie, but preserued euen in the graue from corruption, and raised againe with greater perfection then before; besides the wonderfull conquest it had ouer death. Which plainelie proue the Godheade was neuer separated from the bodie of Christ, though the soule for a time departed, that death and hell might bee destroied. If the deitie did neuer forsake the bodie, no not in death, much lesse did it euer forsake the soule, which alwaies had an vnseparable conjunction, and vnceaseable communion with the godhead of Christ.

[a] 1. Cor. 6.

If Christs soule were forsaken the vnion of his two natures was dissolued.

[b] Iohn. 3.

Lastlie, no sence could bee deuised, more repugnant and

opposite

Christs words & deeds proue his soule was not forsaken of God.

oppolite to all that Christ saide or did after his agonie, then this last found exposition, or rather depr auation of his words. To the high priest asking him whether he were Christ the son of ỹ blessed (God,) he answered [c] I am: and ye shall see the son of man sit at the right hande of the power of God, and come in the cloudes of heauen. Christ was and must be farre from distrusting or doubting that, which he resolutelie affirmeth shal come to passe euen in the eies of his enemies. When they fastened him to the crosse hee said, [d] Father, forgiue them, they know not what they do. Could he intreate and obtaine pardon for others, that found him selfe to be forsaken of God? To the thiefe that hung by him, and desired to be remembred when he came to his kingdome, he answered, [e] Verilie, I saie to thee, thou shalt this day bee with me in paradise. Could hee giue paradise to others, with so great confidence, that coulde not then assure himselfe of Gods fauour, yea, as these men will haue it, that was abandoned and forsaken of God? The Centurion that had the charge to see him put to death, and heard him speake these words, neuer conceiued that he was reiected or estranged from God, but contrariwise confessed; [f] Truelie this man was the sonne of God. Christ himselfe [g] Knowing all thinges that should come vnto him, saide to his disciples; [h] Behold the houre is come, that ye shall be scattered, and leaue me alone, but I am not alone, for the father is with me. Now if God were with him, when his disciples left him, as he himselfe witnesseth, how coulde his soule be forsaken of God? of Christ crucified Dauid saith (as Peter expoundeth his wordes) [i] I alwaies beheld the Lord before me, euen at my right hand, that I should not bee shaken. If Christ had all the time of his passion the fauour of God so constant, and the power of God so present, that hee coulde not be so much as mooued or swaied to and fro, for so the wordes ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ doe signifie, that I should not waue vp and downe, but sit and fixed and assured; how could that parte of Christ, which enioied so manifestlie the sight of Gods countenance, and

[c] Mark. 14.
[d] Luke. 23
[e] Luke. 23.
[f] Matth. 27.
[g] Iohn. 18
[h] Iohn. 16
[i] Acts. 2.

strength

strength of Gods assistance, be forsaken or refused of God: And out of this complaint, that he was forsaken, if we inferre the paines of hell, wee conclude directlie against Christes wordes in the 16. psalme, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*, Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hell. Christs soule was not forsaken in hell; if then it were forsaken on the crosse, it is euident that there it suffered not hell, for in hell it was neuer forsaken. And therefore turne and winde the wordes of Christ which way they will or can, this exposition, which they fasten vnto them, is a manifest contradiction to all that Christ did or saide on the crosse, and namelie to that assertion of Dauid, in the person of Christ, Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hell.

Then are there in the sacred scriptures neither anie predictions that Christ shoulde suffer the paines of hell in his soule here on earth; nor causes why he must suffer them; nor Signes that he did suffer them; and consequentlie, what soeuer is pretended, no proofe that these sufferings must be added to the crosse of Christ, before the worke of our saluation can be perfect. And for my part, which moderation I wish in you all, What I reade in the word of God that I beleeue, what I do not reade that I doe not beleeue. In Gods causes wee maie not easily leaue Gods wordes, and with a new kind of speach make way for a new kinde of faith. We must learne from God what to beleeue, and not by correcting or inuerting his wordes teach him how to speake. Since therefore redemption and remission of sinnes are euerie where in the scriptures referred to the death and bloud of Christ, I dare not so much as thinke the wordes of the holie ghost in one of the greatest mysteries of our christian faith to be improper, or imperfect. And that you may the better perceaue how plainelie and fullie this doctrine is deliuered in the prophetical & apostolical scriptures, I thinke it good to go forwardes with the effects of Christes crosse, by which it shall appeare howe sufficient the price of our redemption is, in the bloud of Christ, without

anie supplie of hell paines to be suffered in ỳ soule of Christ.

The effectes of Christs crosse.

The effectes of Christs crosse though I might reckon manie, yet to keep my selfe within some compasse, I restraine to fiue chiefe branches: the MERITE of his suffering, which was INFINITE; the MANER of his offering, which was BLOVDY; The POVVER of his DEATH, which was mighty; the COMFORT of his CROSSE which was NECESSARIE, & the GLORY of his RESVRRECTION which was heauenly. These fiue will direct vs not onely what to beléeue, but what to refuse in the person and passion of our Sauiour. I will therefore take them as they lie in order.

The merite of Christs passion must be infinit in two respects

The merite of Christs suffering must be simply infinite, that it may worke two things for vs; to wit, redeeme vs from Sathan, and reconcile vs vnto God: cleere vs from hell, and bring vs to heauen; & in either respect it must be infinite. The wages of sinne is death, both of bodie and soule, héere and for euer. With the Iudge of the world is no vnrighteousnesse. He therefore punisheth no man, without cause, or aboue desert. Since the reuenge of each mans sinne is eternall, ỳ is infinite in time; the waight of each mans sinne must needs be infinite, as being rewarded with euerlasting death. It may séeme much to carnal men, that God should requite sin with euerduring reuenge; but if we seriouslie bethinke our selues what it is for earth and ashes to ware proud against God, & after so manifold & abundant blessings to cast off his yoake, & readily, yea grédily to prefer euerie vanitie and fansie before his heauenlie truth, & glory; we shall presently perceiue how iust cause God hath infinitely to hate our vncleannes, & eternally to pursue the pride, contempt, & rebellion of wicked and wilfull men against his diuine maiestie; howsoeuer we digest it, it is a thing determined with God, and no doubt balaced in his vpright and sincere iudgement. [k] The soule that sinneth, that soule shal die. Death & life are both eternall, ỳ is, infinite in length, though not in weight; in durance, though not in degree and sence of ioy, or paine. Then in either respect

[k] Ezech. 18.

to

to counteruaile our deliuerance from hell, & our inheritance in heauen, the merit of Christs suffering must be infinite. An infinite purchase cannot be made, but with an infinite price.

For this infinite price whither shall we seeke? to the paines of hell, or to the powers of heauen? ỹ paines of hel are neither meritorious nor infinite. What thanks with God to be separated from God? and the soule being alienated from God, what other part of man can merite his fauor? [l] If any man fal away, my soule shall haue no pleasure in him. Hel paines therefore are accursed, not accepted of God; and hee that suffereth them is hated, and no way beloued. [m] Depart from me ye cursed into euerlasting fire. As they are not meritorious, no more are they infinite, I meane in waight; but they must euerlastingly be suffered, before they can be infinite. For not only diuels, but men of all sorts shal suffer them, who cannot endure any infinite sence of paine. All creatures are finite both in force to do, & strength to suffer. Infinit is as much as God himself hath, & therefore God alone is infinite. So that neither hel fire is of infinite force to punish, nor men nor angels of infinite strength to suffer, but the vengeance of sinne continueth for euer, by reason no creature is able to beare an infinite waight of punishment. Since then the paines of hel haue neither worth nor waight sufficient in themselues to satisfie the angel, & procure the fauor of God, we must seeke to heauen, euen to God himselfe, for the true ransome for our sinnes, and redemption of our soules, which we no where find, but in the person of Christ Iesus, who being true God toke our nature vnto him, and by the infinite price of his bloud bought vs from ỹ power of hel, & brought vs vnto God. For neither ỹ vertues of Christs humane soule, though they were many; nor the sufferings of his flesh, though they were painful, are simply infinite, til we loke to his person, & then shall we find that [n] God vouchsafed with his own bloud to purchase his Church, & that [o] we were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne when we were his enemies. Bernarde oppressing the

Hell is not infinite, but onlie in time.

[l] Hebre. 10.

[m] Matth. 25.

Nothing infinite but only God.

The merite of Christ is infinite in respect of his person.

[n] Acts. 20

[o] Roman. 5.

infinite merite of Christes death and passion saith. p *Incomprehensibilis (deus voluit) comprehendi, summus humiliari, potentissimus despici, pulcherrimus deformari, sapientissimus vt iumentū fieri, immortalis mori, vt compendio absoluam, deus fieri (voluit) vermiculus: quid excelsius deo? quid inferius vermiculo?* The incomprehensible (God woulde) be comprehended, the highest humbled, the most mighty despised, the most beautifull deformed, the most wise bee like a beast, the immortall (would) suffer death; to speake all in fewe wordes, God would become a Worme: what is higher then God? what is baser then a Worme? If betweene the Creator and the best of his creatures there be an infinite distance; what thinke yee then was there betwixt the throne of God in heauen, and the crosse of Christ on earth? not an infinite distance? and so infinite that neither men nor Angels can comprehend it? The ground of our saluation then is the obedience, humility and charitie of the sonne of God, yeelding himselfe not onelie to serue in our steed, but to die for our sinnes. For when he was equall with God in nature, power, and glory, hee refused not to take the shape of a seruant vpon him, and to humble himselfe to the death of the crosse, not onelie obeying his fathers will, which we had despised; but abiding his hand for the chastisement of our peace. The Apostle noteth these three vertues in the person of Christ; q Let the SAME AFFECTION (of loue) bee in you, which was in Christ Iesus, who being in the forme of God, emptied and humbled himselfe and became obedient to the death, euen to the death of the crosse. By his humilitie, obedience, and charity, hee purged the pride, rebellion, and selfeloue, which our first father shewed when he fell, and we all expresse in our sinnes; and therefore as wee all died in Adams transgression, so we are all iustified, that is absolued from our sinnes, and receaued into fauour, by the obedience of Christ.

p Bernard de passione cap. 17

q Philip. 2

Yea the obedience of Christ did in farre higher degree please God the Father, then the rebellion of Adam did displease

please him. For there the vassall rebelled, here the equall obeied: there earth presumed to be like vnto God, here God vouchsafed to bee the lowest amongst men: there the creature neglected his maker, here the creator so loued his enemies, euen his persecutors, that hee toke the burthen from their shoulders, and laid it on his owne, contentedly giuing his life for them, who cruellie toke his life from him: to conclude, those were the sinnes of men, these are the vertues of God, which doe infinitelie counteruaile the other, and for that cause the iustice of God is farre better satisfied with the obedience of Christ, then with the vengeance it might iustlie haue executed on the sinnes of men. For God hath no [r] pleasure in the death of the wicked, neither doth hee delight in mans destruction; but with the obedience of his sonne he is well pleased, and therein euen his soule delighteth. [f] This is my beloued sonne in whom I am well pleased. [t] Loe my chosen, my soule taketh pleasure in him. In which words God doth not onlie note the naturall loue betwixt his sonne and himselfe; but he giueth full approbation of his obedience, as being thereby throughlie satisfied for the sinne of man. By Christs obedience I doe not meane the holinesse of his life, or performance of the lawe, but the obedience of the person vnto death, euen the death of the Crosse; which was voluntarilie offered by him, not necessarily imposed on him, aboue and besides the lawe, and no way required in the lawe. For it could be no dutie to God or man, but onelie mercie and pitie towardes vs, that caused the sonne of God to take our mortall and weake flesh vnto him, and therein, and therby to pay the ransome of our sinnes, and to purchase eternall life for vs. He must be a Sauiour, no debter; a redeemer, no prisoner; Lord of all, euen when hee humbled himselfe to be the seruant of all; his diuine glorie, power and maiestie make his sufferings to be of infinite force and value. And from this dignitie, and vnitie of his person, which is the maine pillar of our redemption, if we cast our eies on any

Christs obedience doth more then counteruaile Adams disobedience.

[r] Ezech. 33.

[f] Matt 3.
[t] Esay. 42.

other cause, or deuise any new help to strengthen the merits of Christ, wee dishonour and disable his diuinitie, as if the sonne of God were not a full and sufficient price, to ransome the bodies and soules of all mankind.

On this foundation doe the scriptures build the whole frame of mans redemption. [a]God purchased his church (saith Paule) With His Owne Blovd; God, noting the dignitie; His Owne, the vnitie of his person, and both importing a price far worthier then the thing purchased. [x] God spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all. In that he was the sonne of God, al nations are counted vnto him (or in ballance with him) [y] lesse then nothing, and vanitie; in that he was giuen for vs, the ransome excelleth the prisoner, as much as God doth man. [z] We are reconciled to God by the death of his sonne. Marueil we to see Christs death of that power & price with God, that it appeased his wrath, when he was angrie with vs, as with his enemies; when as his owne son being equall with him in the forme of God, humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse for our sakes? Fairer or fuller causes of our redemption we neede not aske, the holie Ghost doth not expresse, God cannot haue. If the son of God be not able with his blood to redeeme vs, wee must giue ouer all hope; and despaire. For heauen cannot yeld vs a greater value, and the earth hath none like. Wherfore if any man be disposed to seale his own condemnation, with his own heart, let him distrust the merits of Christs death: but all that will be saued must acknowledge the infinite price of his death, and blood aboue our worth, and we must learne being sinfull and wretched creatures, not to amend the wordes of God, in the mysterie of our redemption, but suffer him that is trueth to be the guider of our faith, and not by figures to frustrate all that is written in the word of God touching our saluation, purchased by the death and blood of Christ Iesus.

[a] Acts. 20 The scriptures ground our saluation on the dignitie of Christs person [x] Rom. 8. [y] Esay. 40. [z] Rom. 5.

And so do the fathers.

I am not the first that obserued or urged this doctrine, it is auncient and Catholike. [a] *Cum super omnes esset Dei verbum*

verbum, merito suum ipsius templum & corporale instrumentum pro omnium animis pretium offerens, id quod morti debebatur persoluit. Where as the word (or sonne) of God, (saith Athanasius) was aboue al, worthily then by offering his owne temple & bodily instrument, as a price for the soules of all men, did he pay that was due vnto death. *Cyril.* [b] *Si non esset deus quomodo ipse & solus sufficeret ad hoc, vt sit pretiũ? Sed sufficit solus pro omnibus mortuus, quia super omnes est; deus igitur est, morte suæ carnis à mundo mortẽ depellens.* If Christ were not God, how could he alone suffice to be the ransome (for al?) but he alone dead sufficeth for all, because he is aboue all; he is therefore God, by the death of his flesh, driuing away death from the worlde. And againe; [c] *Redempti sumus Christo proprium corpus dante pro nobis. Sed si vt communis homo intelligerẽtur Christus, quomodo corpus eius ad rependendam omnium vitam sufficeret? At si deus fuit in carne, qui dignissimus, sufficiens ad redemptionem totius mundi per suum sanguinẽ merito fuit.* We are redeemed, Christ giuing his own body for vs. But if Christ be taken to be no more then a man, how should his body be sufficient to restore life to al men? but if he were God in our flesh, worthily thẽ did he suffice to redeem the whole world with his bloud. Austen. [d] *Si propter hominẽ mortuus est deus, nõ est victurus homo cum deo? quomodo mortuus est deus? accepit ex te vnde moreretur pro te; nõ posset mori nisi caro nõ posset mori nisi mortale corpus.* If god died for mã shall not mã liue with god? but how died god? he took of thine wherin to die for thee. There could nothing die but flesh, there could die nothing but a mortal body. And elsewhere an auncẽt writer vnder his name, if not himselfe. *Indubitanter credamus quod totum mundum redemit, qui plus dedit quã totus mundus valeret: inter rediment ẽ & redemptum dispensatio, non compensatio fuit.* Let vs vndoubtedly beleeue that hee redeemed the whole worlde, which gaue more then the whole world was worth. Betweene the redeemer and the redeemed there was a dispensation (of humilitie) no compensation (of equality.) And to shewe the truth of his speech he addeth; [f] Innocency was arraigned for the guiltie, mercie was buffeted for the cruell, piety was

[a] *Athanasius de incarnatione citatus a Theodoreto dialogo. 3.*

[b] *Cyril de recta fide ad reginas in 1. Timothei. 2.*

dedit semetipsũ pretium pro nobis.

[c] *Cyril ibidem in 1. Petri. 1.*

pretioso sanguine Christi redempti estis.

[d] *August in psal. 148.*

[e] *August. de tempore. 114.*

[f] *Ibidem.*

was whipped for the vngodlie, wisdom was mocked for the foolish, righteousnes was condēned for the vnrighteous, truth was slaine for the liar, life died for him that was dead. And doe wee yet, remembring who he was, and what we were, stagger to confesse with these Christian and Catholike Fathers, that his bloud was a most sufficient price for all the world? or wonder we to see death ouerthrowne by his death, who was the fountaine of life, and could no more bee swallowed vp of death, then God himselfe could be conquered by the power of darknesse.

The mightier Christs person the fitter to conquer, but not to suffer hel.

[The mightier Christs person, the more able he was (some will say) to suffer death & hell.] he would be partaker of our mortall infirmitie, that by suffering death for the time hee might conquer the force thereof for euer; but the gates of hel could not preuaile against him, because the Prince of this world had nothing in him. The inward man may be strongest when the outward man is weakest; and when the flesh is neerest vnto death, the spirit may cleaue fastest vnto God. Christ therefore in dying for our sakes shewed a most euident, and eminent example of his obedience, loue, and patience; but in suffering hel there is no signe of grace, nor shew of vertue. Voluntarilie to forsake God, or willinglie to be forsaken of God, is the greatest impietie that can bee committed. And against his will Christ neuer did, nor might suffer ante thing: for that had beene violence, not obedience; vengeance, not patience; force, not loue. But all constraint was farre from Christ, that his sufferings might be a voluntary sacrifice to witnesse his loue, and declare his merits, which in compulsion could be none. Since then the sonne of God neither willinglie would, nor forciblie could be forsaken of his Father; it is a dangerous deuise to subiect his soule to hell, which is the totall and finall separation of the wicked from God, and his kingdome.

Eight things in hel paines, which by no means Christs

And that wee may a little the better bethinke our selues, before we growe too resolute in this assertion, that Christes soule suffered the verie paines of hell; I will obserue some things,

thinges, which the scriptures affirme of hell; it may not be applied to Christ without apparāt iniurie. First hel is outward and inward darkenesse; nowe Christ was light, and in him was no darkenesse of the soule. s As long as I am in the worlde I am (sayth hée) the light of the worlde. Then as the h light hath no fellowshippe with darkenesse, no more had Christ with hell, which is the i power of darkenesse, from whence hee hath deliuered vs. Secondlie, hell is destruction both of bodie and soule. k Feare not them (saith Christ) which kill the bodie, but cannot kill the soule; feare him rather which is able to destroie both soule and bodie in hell. In the Sauiour of both, wee maie not admitte the destruction of both: howe shall he saue vs, that could hardlie, and as some write, MAXIMA CVM DIFFICVLTATE, with much a do saue himselfe? But l God sent his sonne to bee the Sauiour of the worlde. We must not therefore wrappe him within the destruction of bodie and soule; no not for an howre, or an instant. Thirdlie, hell is the second death. The first is of the bodie for a time, the second is of the soule for euer. m The lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death (saith Saint Iohn.) Of this death Austen saith, n *De prima corporis morte duci potest quòd bonis bona sit & malis mala; secunda vero sine dubio sicut nullorum est bonorum; ita nulli bona. Ideo vero secunda, quia post illam prima est.* The first death of the bodie is good to the good, and euill to the euill; but the seconde death without doubt, as no good man suffereth it, so is it good to none: and therefore it is called the seconde death, because it followeth after the first. Before the first death, no man suffereth hell, which is the seconde death, and before wee maie auouch it of Christ, wee must take all goodnesse from him; for doubtlesse (sayeth Austen) no good man dooth suffer it. And indéede howe pernicious it is to make the soule of Christ lyable to the death of the soule, I shall afterwarde haue occasion to speake. In the meane time S. Iohn affirmeth, that hell goeth not before

soule might suffer. 1

s Iohn. 9.
h 2. Cor. 6.
i Colos. 1.

2

k Mat. 10.

3.

l 1 Iohn. 4.

m Apoc. 20.

n *August. de ciui. dei. lib. 13 cap. 2*

death, but followeth after death. [o] I looked (saith he) and beheld a pale horse, and his name that sate on him, was death, and HELL FOLLOWED AFTER HIM: and therefore it cannot stand with truth to subiect the soule of Christ yet liuing on earth, to the very paines of the damned. Fourthly, their [p] WORME in hell neuer dieth, for so much as the remembrance of their sinnes committed against God euerlastinglie biteth and afflicteth the conscience. Now in Christ as there was no taint of sinne, so could there bee no touch of conscience accusing, nor remorse of any transgression against God. With compassion of our sinnes he might be moued and troubled; but worme of conscience hee could haue none, who was priuie to his owne heart, that he was [q] holie, harmlesse, vndefiled, and separated from sinners, and therefore needed no sacrifice for his owne sinnes, but as [r] a faythfull and mercifull high Priest by the offering of him selfe once, made an attonement for the sinnes of the people.

[o] Apoc. 6.

[p] Mark 9. 4.

[q] Hebr. 7.

[r] Hebr. 2.

But what the paines of the damned are, the sentence of the Iudge will best declare. [s] *Discedite à me maledicti in ignem æternum*, Depart from mee ye cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the diuell and his Angels. In which wordes there are foure things, which by no meanes can agree vnto Christ; REIECTION, MALEDICTION, VENGEANCE OF FIRE, & CONTINVANCE THERIN FOR EVER. As sin is a voluntary separation of man from god, so hell is a totall and finall exclusion of the sinfull from enioying the presence or patience of God anie longer. The time of this life is the respite of Gods patience towards all the wicked; with the ende therof, beginneth his eternall vengeaunce, which whole and for euer debarreth the workers of wickednesse from the kingdome of God. This reiection the soule of Christ could not suffer, beeing inseparablie ioyned to the Godhead of Christ. We must not in stead of a naturall and mutuall coniunction, beleeue or teach a reall & effectuall separation betwixt God and man, in the person of Christ, no not a

[s] Mat. 25.

5

perswa-

perswasion thereof in the soule of our Sauiour, which is all one with Desperation, and sheweth the condition rather of the Reprobate, then of the children of God, much lesse of him that was God and man. As the Sonne of God coulde not bee REIECTED; no more could hee bee ACCVRSED. He that is ioyned with God, must needes bee partaker of Gods goodnesse. God is the fountaine of all blisse; hee therefore filleth with his blessing all that are vnited vnto him. And if we, when we cleaue vnto him by faith and loue, must needs deriue from him ioy and blisse; coulde the soule of Christ bee personallie ioyned with him, and not be perpetuallie blessed by him? Though then it pleased our Sauiour to suffer a cursed kinde of death for our sinnes, and by receyuing that curse in his flesh to quench the spirituall and eternall curse that hung ouer our heades; yet his soule was neuer accursed, since he was alwaies beloued; and the curse of God comprisseth not onelie the anger and hatred, but the insolerable and vnceasable vengeance of God, which pursueth the soules and bodies of the wicked with flaming fire for euer. For how could al nations of the earth be blessed in him; if he himselfe were accursed: but God [u] sent him to blesse vs: hee must therefore be stored with fulnes of blessing, first for himselfe, then for vs all. 6.

[t] Gen. 22. [u] Acts 3.

And could we frame our tongues, which I hope all Christians with heart detest, so much to dishonour the person of Christ as to auouch him to be trulie reiected and accursed of his Father, for the time bee it neuer so short; yet we must not shew our selues so void of al sense, as to say that Christs soule suffered HEL FIRE; which is the perpetuall and essentiall punishment of all the damned. Let vs not come within that danger of so desperate follie; not to knowe, or not to care, what we defend or affirme. It should haue some proofe, it should haue some truth, whatsoeuer is held for matter of faith. That Christes soule was tormented with hell fire I aske not what proofe, or truth, but what shew can bee 7.

pretended? The fire of hell, they will say is metaphoricall; they that go thither shall find it no metaphore. It is no good dallying with Gods eternall, and terrible iudgements. The Scriptures are so plaine, and so full of the parts and effects of fire in hell, that I dare not allegorize them. Christ maketh the rich mans soule in hell to saie, [x] I am tormented in this flame. Saint Iohn saith it is a [y] lake burning with fire and brimstone. Daniel saith, [z] a firie streame issued from before Christ sitting in iudgement. Paul saith, it is [a] a violent fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. God himselfe saith, a [b] fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, and shall enflame the foundations of the hilles. If therefore the paines of the damned come in question, it is not safe to measure them by our imaginations, but to giue eare to the holie ghost, who can best expresse them; and by him wee learne, that if anie man worshippe the beast and his image, he shall [c] drinke of the wine of the wrath of God, and shall bee tormented in fire and Brimstone before the holie Angels, and before the lambe. And the smoke of their torment shall ascende euermore; and they shall haue no rest night nor daie. Into this fire if we cast Christes soule, we must take heede our proofes bee sound and sure; least our presumption exclude vs from the place where Christ is; and leaue vs in the lake where hee neuer was: there to learne what it is rashlie to conclude the thinges that are not confirmed by the word of God. But I perswade my self, few men of learning or religion, will venter on this desperate resolution, that Christs soule here on earth suffered hell fire, and therefore to propose it, is inough to confute it.

[x] Luke 16.
[y] Reuel. 21.
[z] Dan. 7.
[a] Heb. 10.
[b] Deut. 32.
[c] Reuel. 14.

8 The last thing in hell fire, is that it is eternal. For as there is no remission of paine, so thence is no redemption; but once adiudged thither is euerlastinglie fastened to that place of torment. And this is cause inough to staie all men, that bee soberlie minded, from defending that Christs soule suffered the paines of hell, which the holie Ghost saith

saith are endles. [d] They which knowe not God, and obey not the gospell shall suffer paines, euen euerlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord, saith the Apostle to the Thessalonians. And so Peter, [e] to whom the myst of darkenesse is reserued for euer. And Iude, [f] Sodome and Gomorrhe are set for an example, which suffer the punishment of euerlasting fire. Yea Christ himselfe pronounced that fire to be [g] vnquenchable. Wherefore vnlesse we can shew a later and better warrant then I yet see, we shall do well not to enterprize to quench hell fire; but to let it burne eternallie, and to confesse with Peter that God raised Christ breaking the paines of death and hell, of which it was [h] impossible he should be held. For since he was and is the [i] Sauiour of his body, the paines of hell, which are eternall, could not take hold on him. He was mightier then hell, that saued vs from hell; hee could not free vs from the chaines of darkenesse, but he must first breake them in sunder. His deliuering vs from the power of Satan, proueth him to be stronger then Satan; and the stronger could neuer be bound by the weaker; but contrariwise he entred into Satans [k] house, where his chiefe strength was, and bound him and so spoiled him. This comparison Christ maketh betwixt Satan & himselfe; by which he concludeth that he was stronger then Satan; and consequentlie could not himselfe bee bound by death or hell, but [l] ouercame satan, and tooke all his armour from him wherein he trusted, and deuided the spoiles.

[d] 2. Thes. 1.
[e] 2. Peter. 2.
[f] Iud. epist.
[g] Mark. 9.
[h] Acts. 2.
[i] Ephes 5.
[k] Matth 12.
[l] Luke. 11

The paines of hel are eternal

And where some men begin to doubt, whether eternal continuance be of the nature & substance of hell or no, they shall doe well to leaue these dangerous and fruiteless speculations. For whether they looke to the persons for vvhom; or the crimes for vvhich, or the Iudge, by vvhom it was prepared; they shall euerie waie find it must be eternall. It was [m] prepared for the diuell and his Angels, and to them coulde no punishment be allotted but euerlasting, except we will giue possibilitie of grace, and hope of repentance vnto diuels. It is the wages of sinne; which being an infinite contempt of the

[m] Matth. 25.

diuine maiestie, must by the balance of iustice haue infinite vengeance in waight, or in length. And since no creature is able to beare an infinite burden and sence of paine, of force all sinnefull creatures must bee condemned to an infinits length of punishment; which is hell fire. Alas lie, as God is eternall and cannot change; no more can his iustice, or iudgement alter with time; but as his truth abideth for euer, so his iudgment being iust and good is irrevocable; & consequently the vengeance of sinne can neuer cease, as proceeding from

[a] Iames. 1. the righteous iudge of the world, in whom is [a] no shadowing,

[b] Heb. 6. nor varying. And therefore Paul calleth the iudgement [b] æternal, wherby God shall reward euerie man according to his

[p] Mark. 9. workes; & our sauior forwarneth vs not in vaine, that hel fier is [p] VNQVENCHABLE, & EVERLASTING. Since then neither the remorse, reiection, malediction, nor desperation of the damned; nor the darkenes, destruction, death, & fire of hel can without euident impiety be attributed to the soule of Christ; I am farre from admitting into ante part of the Creed this ambiguous, if not dangerous assertion, that Christ in his soule on the crosse felt the verie paines, and torments of the damned: but I preferre the simple and plaine doctrine of the holie

[q] 1. Corinth. 15 Ghost, which teacheth vs that Christ [q] died for our sinnes according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that hee rose againe the thirde daie according to the scriptures, and by

[q] Ibidem. Christs so doing, death was [q] swallowed vp into victory; and we may iustly saie, [q] O death where is thy sting? O hell where is thy victory? thanking God which hath giuen this victorie through our Lorde Iesus Christ, as it was foresposken by the

[r] Esay. 25. prophet Esay. The Lorde will [r] destroy death for euer; and by

[r] Ose. 13. Osee, O death I will bee thy death, O hell I will bee thy destruction.

The sacrifice for sinne must be bloudy, before it could be propitiatorie.

The manner of Christes offering is the second effect of Christs crosse which must be bloudie, before it can be propitiatorie. In this part I will deliuer you three thinges worthie to be obserued; with what Sacrifice God was pleased for our

sinnes,

sinnes, with what price the Diuell was concluded for our ransome, with what Seale the newe couenant of grace and mercie was confirmed vnto vs for our safetie. These three depend eache on other. God, as the Iudge offended, was to haue a sacrifice for our sinne, that might content him; the Diuell as the Iailour, was to haue a ransome for vs, that were by Gods Iustice deliuered into his handes; Our selues as prisoners were to bee restored by GODS pardon, and to be assured of his protection, that the like miserie might not the second time preuaile against vs; which is performed by the newe Testament of mercie forgiuing, and grace repelling sinne, that wee relapse not into the pit of perdition whence wee were deliuered.

What was the true propitiatorie sacrifice which God accepted for the sinnes of the world, if the new testament did not plainelie declare, the olde testament would sufficientlie witnesse vnto vs. For as well Patriarks as Prophets, yea all the godlie from Abel to Christ did by their sacrifices and seruice of God professe and confirme their faith to be this, that they looked for the Seede of the woman, who by his death and bloud should purge their sinnes, and make peace betweene God and them. This was the promise of grace which God made in Paradise to our first parents, threatning the serpent with the seede of the woman in these words; He shall crush thine heade, and thou shalt bruise his heele. As the heele of man is the baseſt part of his bodie, and neareſt the earth; so the Serpent should bruise the weakeſt and earthlieſt part of Christ; but euen that bruised heele should bee of force enough to crush the Serpentes head. For by the flesh of Christ wounded, and bloud shed, the power & pride of Satan should be conquered and confounded. This sence of Gods promise made to his parents, Abell the first martyr by faith accepted, by sacrifice adored; and in that respect his bodilie and bloudie offering was preferred before his brothers.

The true sacrifice for sinne was shadowed in the figures and sacrifices of the former testament.

Genes. 3.

brothers. This faith did all the Patriarkes testifie by their bloudie sacrifices, that they expected the bodie of the Messias to be bruised, and his bloud to be shed for the remission of their sinnes. And as they receiued it from their fathers, so they deliuered it to their children for the shot anchor of all their hope. This God did ratifie by his lawe written, suffering his people to haue no sacrifices for sinne, but such as represented the bloudie offering of Christ on the crosse. So that all the sacrifices and sacraments of Moses lawe were nothing else but figures and [u] examples of better thinges, as the Apostle calleth them, namelie of Christes bodie once to bee offered, and his bloud once to bee shed for the abolishing of sinne. The FIGVRES of Christ before and vnder the lawe, what else doe they point, but to the death, bloud, and crosse of Christ to be the redemption and saluation of all mankinde? Abrahams readinesse to offer vp Isaac, for which the blessing was annexed to him with an othe, what doth it import but the loue of God [x] Not sparing his owne sonne, but giuing him for vs all? The bloud of the passeouer sprinkled on the postes of the Israelites to auert the destroier; doth it not represent the bloud of that immaculate lambe, which sauеth vs from the fiercenesse of Gods wrath? The lifting vp the brasen serpent to cure the people that were stung with fierie Serpents, doth it not foreshewe Christ hanging on the crosse to cure our soules from the poison of sinne, which is the sting of that deadlie serpent? The strength of Sampson pulling the house on his owne and his enemies heades, doth it not declare the voluntarie death of Christ, to be the destruction of death and hell, which insulted at him on the crosse?

[u] Hebre 9

[x] Rom, 8

When the truth came expressed by all these sacrifices, and resembled in all these figures, what offering made he on the altar of the crosse? Did he yeelde his soule to the paines of hell, or his bodie to be crucified of the Iewes? both they will faie; for so they must faie, except they will haue their supposall of hell paines cleane excluded from the sacrifice for sin.

The Patriarks and prophets did not mistake the true sacrifice for sinne.

But

But which of these two was beleeued of the Patriarks, witnessed by the sacrifices, shadowed in the figures of the law, expected of the faithfull from the foundation of the worlde? The bloudie sacrifice of Christes bodie is so plainelie proclaimed by them all, that there can bee no question of their faith and expectation. And were they deceiued in the object of their faith, and hope? Did they all mistake the true sacrifice for their sinnes? and did God by his lawe confirme them in that errour? And doeth the Apostle falselie conclude from the sacrifices of the lawe, that Christes offering before it comme take awaie sinne, must of force bee bloudie? These were verie strange positions in Christian religion, and yet I see not howe wee shall auoide them, if we stiflie maintaine the suffering of hell paines to bee the chiefer and principaller part of our redemption, without which the rest is nothing. If their faith fastened on the death and bloud of Christ for the remission of their sinnes did saue them, then was the death of Christ of force enough, without the paines of Hell to release them from their sinnes; and bring them vnto God. And if it wrought that effect in them, it is still of the same power and strength to worke the like in vs. If it were insufficient to release them from the rigour of GODS wrath, then are the Patriarkes perished in their sinnes, by mistaking the true price of their redemption. For that they knewe anie thing of Christs suffering Hell paynes, I thinke will hardlie bee proued. But out of question their faith was right which was settled on the bloud of Christ to bee shedde for the redeeming of their sinnes; and themselues are Saintes in Gods kingdome: Wee must therefore take heede that wee doe not rashlie varie from the foundation of their faith and hope; which must likewise be ours, with this onelie difference, that they beleeued in him, which should take away the sins of the worlde by his death and crosse, and we in him that hath taken them away.

the time doth differ; but the meanes are still the same. The
[y] Reuel. 13 lamb was slaine from the beginning of the world; not actually, but in the counsaile of God, which did purpose it; and in the truth of God, which did promise it; as likewise in the faith of al his saints, which did rest & reioice in it; frō whose steps if we swarue, we may not looke to be Abrahās children, ỹ refuse Abrahās faith as erroneous, & chalēge our father for misbeliefe.

Three properties of the true sacrifice for sinne, vrged by the Apostle.

If the offerings and faith of the Patriarks were not pregnant enough to lead vs to the true sacrifice for sinne; the Apostle to the Hebrewes doth so purposelie and positiuely handle it, that I much muse how any man of iudgement or learning can mistake it. For if we marke but three conclusions, which the Apostle maketh, we cannot erre from the truth in this behalfe. The true sacrifice for sinne must be but ONE, and ONCE OFFERED, not often, nor iterated, by reason it is perfect and able to cleanse vs from all sinne. It must bee
1. BLOVDY, for so were all the offeringes of the lawe, and
[z] Hebre. 9. 2. [z] without shedding of bloud is no remission. It must bee CONFIRMED BY DEATH, that redemption purchased might
3. neuer bee reuoked, nor altered. These three positions are mainelie and mightilie vrged by the holie ghost, the 9. and 10. to the Hebrues; and for this faith, are all the fathers of the old Testament from Abel to Samuel praised in the 11. chapter of that Epistle. This
[a] Hebre. 10 [a] man (saith Paul meaning Christ) after he had offered ONE SACRIFICE FOR SINNE, sitteth for euer at the right hand of God. For with ONE OFFERING had he made perfit for euer those which are sanctified. Now where remission (of sinne) is, there is no more offering for sinne. Christ then making but one offering for sinne, we must not make two; but rather learne what that one was, which we may do without any difficultie, since the Apostle so plainlie teacheth vs, that we are sanctified by THE OFFERING
[b] Hebre. 9 OF THE BODY OF IESVS ONCE; that [b] BY HIS OWNE BLOVD CHRIST ENTERED in Once into the holy place, and FOVND ETERNALL REDEMPTION. Almost all things are by

the

the law purged with bloud, and without shedding of bloud is no remission. It was then necessary that the similitudes of heauenlie thinges (in the law) should be purified with such thinges (as the bloud of bulles and goates) but heauenly things themselues with better sacrifices then these; euen with the bloud of Christ. For [c] if the bloud of bulles and goates sanctifieth as touching the purifying of the flesh; howe much more shall THE BLOVD OF CHRIST, who through the eternall spirit offered himselfe without spot to God, PVRGE YOVR CONSCIENCES FROM DEAD WORKS to serue the liuing God? And [d] for this cause is he the Mediator of the newe Testament, that THROVGH DEATH which was for THE REDEMPTION OF THE TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE FORMER TESTAMENT, they which were called might receiue the promise of eternal inheritance. For where a testament is, there must be THE DEATH OF HIM THAT MADE THE TESTAMENT. For it is of no force, so long as he that made it, is aliue; wherefore neither was the first testament ordained without bloud. [e] Iesus then suffered without the gate, that hee might SANCTIFIE the people WITH HIS OWNE BLOVD; and this is the bloud of the euerlasting Testament, through which God brought againe from the dead our Lorde Iesus. Christ confirmeth the same when hee saith. This is [f] MY BLOVD of the new testament WHICH IS SHED for many for THE REMISSION OF SINNES.

[c] Hebre. 9

[d] Ibidem.

[e] Hebre. 13

[f] Matth. 26.

The wordes be plainer then that they neede anie commentarie. There was but ONE sacrifice that coulde abolish sinne; euen THE OBLATION OF THE BODIE OF IESVS ONCE, whose BLOVD purged our consciences from deade works, and purchased eternal inheritance, by the TESTATORS DEATH, FOR THE REDEMPTION of those sinnes, which we committed against the former Testament. What shift haue we to shun the force of these wordes, or to bring in the paines of hell in Christes soule, as a part of the propitiatory sacrifice for sinne? Christ made but one oblation of himselfe for sinne, and that was the suffering of death in his body

The sacrifice for sinne was bodily, bloudy, and deadly.

for the redemption of our transgressions, and shedding of his bloud for the remission of our sinnes. More then one, hee needed not make; for that one obtained eternall redemption: and other then this, he did not make, for his offering was both BODILY and BLOVDIE. [g] This is my body, which is giuen, (and) [h] broken for you; this is [i] my bloud, which is shed for manie. THE OBLATION OF THE BODY of Iesus once & THE SHEDDING OF HIS BLOVD are of strength & force enough to cleanse vs from our sins, & to procure vs the promise of euerlasting inheritance, which beeing confirmed by the death of the testator standeth irreuocable. How sanne wee then bring in another sacrifice of Christes soule suffering the paines of hell, which could be neither bodily nor bloudy, but wee must increase the number, and confounde the differences of Christs offerings; and weaken the force of his eternall & corporal sacrifice, which was the truth that answered & accomplished al the signes of the law? For the inuisible paines of hel are no where prefigured in the sacrifices of the law, that I find; nor so much as once mentioned in the Apostles discourse, of Christs sacrifice for sinne, that I reade; & therfore if we adde them as a necessary part of our redemption, we derogate from the bloud of Christ, as insufficient without those torments to cleanse vs from our sins, & pacifie the wrath of God, that was kindled against vs.

[g] Luke. 22
[h] 1. Corinth. 11
[i] Mark. 14

The force of Christs bloud expressed in the scriptures.

What danger it is to depart from ỹ manifest words of the holy ghost in so high a point of faith, & by things vnwritten to discredit things written, I neede not admonish such as be learned, let the simple take heed, that they suffer not reason to ouerrule religion, & obscure and doubtful places in the scriptures to wrest from them the perspicuous and perpetuall doctrine of the holy ghost. Howe ful and perfect the redemption is, which wee haue by the bloud of Christ, if you search the Scriptures you shall easilie see; if you doe but hearken you shall presentlie learne. The bloud of Christ doth REDEEME, CLENSE, WASH, IVSTIFIE, & SANCTIFY the elect

elect; It doth PACIFIE and PROPITIATE the Iudge; It doth SEALE THE COVENANT of mercie, grace & glorie, betwixt God & man; It doth CONCLVDE and bind the diuell; What more can be required? I verily cannot coniecture. If the bloud of Christ performe al these things for vs, & more we can not aske or expect; why thinke we from it as vnable to saue vs, except it be supplied with the paines of hell? Whether I affirme any thing of mine owne, or deliuer you that which is plainly taught in ȝ scriptures, iudge you. [k] Ye were REDEEMED (saith Peter) by the pretious bloud of Christ as of a Lambe vnspotted, and vndefiled. [l] Christ by his own bloud (saith Paul) entered once into the holy place OBTAINING eternall REDEMPTION. [m] The bloud of Iesus Christ CLENSETH vs frō all our sinnes. [n] He WASHED vs from our sinnes in his bloud. [o] Beeing now IVSTIFIED by his bloud, we shall bee saued from wrath through him. [p] Iesus suffered that hee might sanctifie the people with his bloud. By Christ then [q] wee haue redemption through his bloud, euen the remission of sinnes, and [r] nowe in Christ Iesus yee which once were farre off, are made neere by the bloud of Christ. [s] For it hath pleased (the Father) by him to reconcile all thinges vnto himselfe. And to pacifie through the bloud of his Crosse both thinges in earth, and things in heauen: [t] Whome God hath purposed to bee a Reconciliation through fayth in his bloud.

[k] 1 Pet. 1.
[l] Hebr. 9.
[m] 1 Iohn 1.
[n] Reuel. 1
[o] Rom. 5.
[p] Heb. 13.
[q] Ephes. 1.
[r] Ephes. 2.
[s] Colos. 1.
[t] Rom. 3.

And therefore the new testament is sealed with Christes bloud. This is (saith hee) my bloud of the [u] new Testament, which is shed for manie for the remission of sinnes. [x] Yee are come to Iesus the mediatour of the newe Testament (saith Paul) & to the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better things then that of *Abell*. For Abels bloud cried for vengeance: but Christs bloud speaketh for mercie and grace. And for that cause Paul calleth it, [y] The bloud of the euerlasting Testament; For [z] this is the Testament, that I will make with the house of Israel; after those dayes sayeth the Lorde, I will

[u] Mat. 26.
[x] Heb. 12.
[y] Heb. 13.

put my lawes in their minde, and in their heart I will write them, and I will bee their God, and they shall bee my people; I will be mercifull to their vnrighteousnesse, [z] and I will remember their sinnes and iniquities no more. This testament of mercie, grace and glorie is confirmed by the death of Christ, and sealed with his bloud, which if we weaken or frustrate with our inuentions, or additions, wee must looke for that fearefull iudgement which the Apostle threatneth. [a] He that despiseth *Moses* lawe dieth without mercie vnder two or three witnesses: Of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shal he be worthie, which treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and counteth vnholie the bloud of the Testament, wherewith he was sanctified, and reprocheth the spirite of grace? The wrong that is offered to the bloud of the newe Testament, treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and reprocheth the spirit of grace. Now howe can we more vnsanctifie the bloud of the Testament, then to make it so vnprecious, that it cannot redeeme vs without the paines of hell, or to set vp another price, for which we haue no expresse record, against, or aboue the bloud of Christ, by which we are cleansed from our sinnes, and reconciled to God?

[z] Heb. 8.

[a] Heb. 10.

Whether the paines of hell be comprised in the bloud of Christ.

I knowe they will and must answere, the paines of hell are contained in the bloud of Christ; for so much as he suffered the one in their imagination, when hee shed the other. Could they proue by expresse and infallible testimonies (which they cannot do) that Christ suffered in soul the paines of the damned, they had some reason to comprise the one within the other; but no such thing being warranted, or witnessed in the scriptures, they must take heed, that they do not elude, rather then expound the words of the holie ghost with a perpetuall Synecdoche, which shall frustrate the very force of all those euident and vehement speeches. For it is strange to mee, first, that without iust proofe any such thing should be ioined to the bloud of Christ, to helpe the price thereof. Next that the holie ghost should alwayes vrge the one, and

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as it were continuallie forget the other. Thirdlie, the things which are named in the Scriptures, as they were the last, so are they the chiefest parts of Christs sufferings, the rest being vnderstood as antecedent to them, and not eminent aboue them. Nowe the CROSSE, BLOVD, and DEATH of Christ are euerie where mentioned in the scriptures, as the verie groundworke and pillars of our redemption. Lastlie the bodie of Christ wounded, and his bleud shed for the remission of sinnes, are the seales that confirme and ratifie the new testament; and therefore they giue chiefest power and strength to the whole couenant; as appeareth by the Sacraments: which import vnto vs not the paines of hell, but the death and bloud of Christ, as the right and true meanes of our redemption. [b] Know ye not (saith Paule) that all we which haue beene baptised into Iesus Christ, haue beene baptised into his death? Wee are buried then with him by baptisme into his death. And speaking of the Lords Supper he saith: [c] As often as ye shall eate this bread, and drinke this cuppe, ye shewe the Lords death vntill he come. [d] The cuppe of blessing which wee bless, is it not the communion of Christes blood? The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of Christs bodie? By these we are grafted into Christ, by these wee are quickned, & nourished into life euerlasting: And these propose vnto vs no inuisible paines of hell, but the bodie of Christ wounded, and his bloud shed for the remitting of our sinnes, and vniting vs vnto Christ, that we may be [e] members of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones.

[b] Rom. 6.

[c] 1. Cor. 11.

[d] 1. Cor. 10.

[e] Ephes 5.

Christs bloud the verie price of our redemption.

Yea what an vnthankefull part were it for the captiues that are inlarged, to challenge the ransome, which was paide for their freedome, as defectiue; when the aduersarie from whom we were bought, receyued it by the rule of Gods iustice, as a price most sufficient for vs all that were deliuered? [f] I will redeeme them from the power of hell, I will ransome them from death (saith God by his Prophet:) as you were bought with a PRICE (saith Paul,) The price then which Christ paide

paid must be fully worth the thing redeemed. For since it pleased God, not by force to take vs from Satan, but with a price to buie vs out of his hands, it were dishonour to God, and a kinde of reproch to giue lesse for vs, then might countervaile vs. And therefore let vs rest assured that the price which Christ payed for vs, was of farre greater value then we were, not onelie in the vpright iudgement of God, but euen in the malicious and furious desire of Satan, who thirsted after the bloud of the sonne of God, with greedier lawes, then after all the worlde besydes, and triumphed more in bringing him to a shamefull death, then in the destruction of all the faythfull. Wherefore the wisedome and iustice of God, suffered him to shewe his rage on the flesh of Christ, and as it were to trample in his bloud, which hee spilt like water on the earth; and left him that, which hee so eagerly pursued, and in his malice against Gods glorie preferred before all the worlde, as a full payment for all those that shoulde be delivered by the death of Christ. And for this cause the bloud of Christ is called by ỹ holie ghost the PRICE of our REDEMPTION.

[h] 1 Pet. 2. [h] Ye were REDEEMED (saith Peter) WITH THE PRECIOVS BLOVD of Christ as of a lambe vnspotted and vndefiled.

[i] Reuel. 5. Yea the song which the Saints in heauen do sing vnto the lambe is this, Thou wast killed, and [i] HAST REDEEMED VS TO GOD BY THY BLOOD.

How the price of our redemption was paid.

When I say the bloud of Christ was the price, wherewith God redeemed vs out of Satans power, I doe not meane that God made anie contract with Satan, or toke his consent to exchange; much lesse, that Christ did profer his bloud to the diuell, to set vs free: it were an iniurie to Christ for vs to thinke his bloud was shed to [k] satisfie the diuell as Gregory Nazianzene wel obserueth in his oration *de Paschate*; but Christ offered his bloud as a sacrifice to god his father to verifie the iudgement pronounced against vs, [l] Thou shalt die the death, and to satisfie the iustice of God prouoked with

[k] *Nazianzen. orat. 42. in Pascha. 2.*

[l] Gene. 2.

with our sinnes; yet in comming to his death, since his life might not be ended, neither with his owne hand, nor by the hand of his Father, the wisedome of God [m] deliuered him into the handes of sinners, by whose blinde zeale and bloudie rage the diuell, that worketh in the children of disobedience, conspired and compassed his death, and with all maner of contumelie and crueltie abused his body, and spilt his blood, insulting at him by the mouthes of the wicked, and reioycing in the conquest he gate ouer Christ in bringing him to a reprochfull death. But this extreame rage of Satan against the person of Christ, turned to the vtter ruine of his owne kingdome. For God did not onely raise againe the Lord Iesus from death, as dying an innocent without all desert, but in recompence of the wrong, which he receiued at Satans handes, to the which he willingly submitted himselfe, God gaue him power to spoile the kingdome of the diuell; and to deliuer all that euer did or should beleeue in his death and passion. And in this sort Christ bought vs with his precious bloud from the daunger of sinne and hell; not offering, but suffering Satan by the handes of the Iewes to take his life from him; neither compounding with his aduersarie; but repelling him in the middest of his malice, who assaulting Christ Iesus our head, as he had done all the members was ouerthrowne by him, and vanquished with an euerlasting victorie.

[m] Mark. 14.

[n] *Mortuus est volens, vt inuoluntarie mortuos exuscitaret. Deuorauit ipsum mors ignorans, vbi deuorasset, cognouit quem non deuorauit. Deuorauit vnum cum omnibus; perdidit omnes propter vnum. Rapuit vt leo; confracti sunt dentes ipsius.* Christ died willinglie (saith Basill) that hee might raise those which died against their wils. Death ignorantly deuoured him, which when hee had done, hee knewe whom he had not deuoured. Hee swallowed vp one as he did all; and for that one, hee lost all. Hee seased on him as a Lion, but his teeth were ther with broken. The creed extant vnder the name of Ruffinus;

[n] Basil. oration. in fine epistolarum.

o Symbolum Ruffini tomo Hieronymi. 4.

o *Sacramentum carnis susceptæ hanc habet causam, vt diuina filij dei virtus velut hamus quidam, habitu humanæ carnis obtectus principem mundi inuitare posset ad Agonem, cui ipse carnem suam velut escam tradens, hamo eum diuinitatis intrinsecus teneret insertus ex profusione immaculati sanguinis.* The mysterie of Christes taking flesh was to this end, that the diuine power of the Sonne of GOD couered as a hooke vnder the shewe of mans flesh, might prouoke the Prince of this worlde to assault him; to WHOM (CHRIST) DELIVERING HIS FLESH AS A BAITE helde fast (the diuell) with the hooke of his diuinitie sticking in him, through the shedding of his immaculate bloud. p *Conditorem omnium Satanæ manui traditum, quis vel desipiens credat? sed tamen edoctus veritate quis nesciat; ——— cum se pro nostra redemptione Dominus membrorum Satanæ manibus tradidit, (quod) eiusdem Satanæ manum in se sæuire permittit, vt vnde ipse exterius occumberet, inde nos exterius interiusque liberaret?* That the maker of all was deliuered into the hande of Satan, who is so fooliſh as to beleeue? And yet who taught by the trueth is ignorant, that when the Lorde for our redemption yeelded himselfe into their handes that were the members of Satan, hee suffered the hande of Satan to rage agaynst him, that whence he outwardlie dyed (in body) thence he might both outwardlie and inwardlie deliuer vs? And therefore hee concludeth, q *Cum corpus eius ad passionem accipit; electos eius à iure suæ potestatis amittit.* When (Satan) receyued the bodie (of Christ) to crucifie it; hee lost the elect of Christ from subiection to his power.

p Gregor. Moralium lib. 3. ca. 11

q Ibidem.

Saint Austen shewing howe Christ conquered the Diuell first by iustice, and then by power, sayeth; r *Placuit Deo, ut propter eruendum hominem de Diaboli potestate, non potentia Diabolus sed iustitia vinceretur.* It pleased God for the deliuering of man out of the Diuels power, that the diuell should be conquered by iustice, and not by might

r August. de trinitate li. 13 cap. 13.

might. [s] *Quæ est igitur iustitia, qua victus est Diabolus? Quæ nisi iustitia Iesu Christi? Et quomodo victus est? Quia cum in eo nihil morte dignum inuenit, occidit eum tamen: & vtique iustum est, vt debitores quos tenebat, liberi dimittantur, in eum credentes, quem sine vllo debito occidit, Hoc est quod iustificari dicimur in sanguine Christi.* What then is the iustice whereby the Diuell was conquered? What but the iustice of Iesu Christ? And howe? Because that when the Diuell founde in Christ nothing woorthie of death, hee killed him notwithstanding: and surelie iustice requireth that the debtours, which Satan helde shoulde bee sette free, beleeuing in him whome Satan slue without any debt. This is it that wee are sayde to bee iustifyed in the bloud of Christ. [t] *Sanguis enim ille quoniam eius erat qui nullum habuit omnino peccatum, ad remissionem nostrorum fusus est peccatorum; vt quia eos Diabolus merito tenebat, quos peccatireos conditione mortis obstrinxit, hos per eum merito dimitteret, quem nullius peccati reum immerito pœna mortis affecit: hac iustitia victus, & hoc vinculo vinctus est fortis, vt vasa eius eriperentur.* For that bloud because it was his, who was vtterlie voyde of sinne, was shedde for the remission of our sinnes; that whom the Diuell iustlie held as guiltie of sinne, and obnoxious to death, those hee might woorthilie loose through him, whome hee wrongfullie slue beeing guiltie of no sinne: with this iustice the Diuell was conquered, and with this band was hee bound, that his goods might bee spoyled. And so Saint Austen concludeth in expresse woordes, that THE BLOVD OF CHRIST, which the Diuell was permitted to shedde by the handes of the wicked, VVAS GIVEN AS A PRICE IN OVR REDEMPTION, Which when the Diuell had spilt, it was reckoned to him as a ransom for vs since Christ owed none for himself; & so were we dismissed out of his power. [u] *In hac redẽptione tanquã pretiũ pro nobis datus est Christi sanguis, quo accepto*

[s] *Ibidem.*

[t] *Ibidem. cap. 13.*

[u] *Ibidem. cap. 13.*

accepto diabolus non ditatus, sed ligatus est, vt nos ab eius nexibus solueremur. In this redemption the bloud of Christ was giuen as a ransome for vs, which being receiued, the diuell was not inriched, but concluded, that wee might bee loosed from his snares.

[a] S. Ambrose affirmeth as much. *Si redempti sumus non corruptibilibus argento & auro, sed pretioso sanguine domini nostri Iesu Christi (quo vtiq; vendere* NISI EO *qui nostrũ iam peccatricis successionis ære quæsitum seruitium possidebat?) Sine dubio* IPSE *flagitabat pretium vt seruitio exueret quos tenebat obstrictos. Pretiũ autem nostræ liberationis erat sanguis domini Iesu, quod necessario soluendum erat* EI, *CVI peccatis nostris venditi eramus.* If we bee redeemed not with corruptible things as siluer and golde, but with the precious bloud of our Lorde Iesus Christ (who selling vs, BVT HE that possessed vs as his seruants by reason of our sinfull succession) doubtlesse euen HE required a ransome to dismisse vs from the seruitude which he had ouer vs. Now the price of our deliuerance was the bloud of the Lord Iesus, which (price) was necessarilie to bee payde to HIM, TO WHOM we were sold through our sinnes. They which traduce this doctrine, as inclining to Manichetisme, had more neede of Elleborus to purge their braines, then of authorities to perswade their hearts. For since Christ paid no ransome for himselfe, but for vs, and his innocent bloud could not be shed but by the hands of the wicked, what touch of vntruth can it haue, that God accounted the bloud of Christ to be of more value then all the soules of men; and consequentlie, that, which the diuell eagerlie thirsted, and wrongfullie shed, to be reputed as mans ransome, and a price most sufficient for all the world? Yea the scripture, which is the word of truth, doth not onely teach vs, who redeemed vs, and with what price, as, [x] God bought his Church with his owne bloud: but in manifest words from whom we were redeemed, euen from the power of [y] DARKNES, [z] DEATH and HEL; that being [a] deliuered out of the hands of our enemies, wee should serue God without feare in holines and righteousnes all the daies of our life.

[a] *Ambros. lib. 9 Epist. 77.*

[x] Acts. 20.
[y] Colos. 1.

[z] Osee. 13.
[a] Luke 1.

Whether

Whether therefore wee resemble the bodie and bloud of Christ to a PRAY that brake the teeth of the deuourer; to a BAITE that held fast the swallower; to a PRICE that concluded the challenger; to a RANSOME that freed the prisoner; or to a CONQVEST that ouerthrew the inspirer; in effect it is all one. Satan by killing him, that was the author of life, lost both him and all his members; the Lorde rising againe by his owne power, and raising them all, that could not bee seuered from him, by the might and merite of his death and suffering. And so the godlie, which now liue on the earth, are not their [b] OWNE, but his that bought them with a price; being before [c] solde vnder sinne, whose [d] seruants they were till Christ with his bloud [e] redeemed them [f] vnto GOD, and made them kinges and priestes to God his father. [f] *Venit redemptor & dedit pretium, fudit sanguinem suum, emit orbem terrarum. Videte quid dederit, & inuenite quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est? tantum quid valet? quid nisi totus orbis? quid nisi omnes gentes?* The redeemer came (saith Austen) and paied the price: hee shed his bloud; and purchased the worlde. Consider what he gaue, and marke what he bought. The bloud of Christ was ỹ price: what was valued at so great a price? What but the whole world? what but all the nations of the earth? [g] *Hic sanguis effusus omnem terrarum orbem abluit, hic sanguis antea semper præsignabatur in sacrificijs, in iustorum cædibus. Hic orbis terrarum est pretiũ. Hoc Christus emit ecclesiam. Hoc eam omnem adornauit.* This bloud (saith Chrysostom) being shed washed the whole world. This bloud was euer before figured in the sacrifices, and martyrdomes of the righteous. This bloud is the price of the world; with this Christ bought his Church, with this he wholy adorned it. [h] *Christus non esset condignum pretiũ totius creaturæ redimendæ, neque sufficeret ad bene redimendam mundi vitam, etiamsi suam deponeret animam vt pretium pro nobis, ac etiam pretiosum sanguinem, nisi vere esset filius, & tanquam ex deo deus.* Christ had not beene a iust price (saith Cyril) to redeeme all creatures, nor sufficient to purchase the life of the

[b] 1. Corinth. 6.
[c] Rom 7.
[d] Rom 6
[e] Reuelat. 5.
[f] *Augustin. in Psal. 95.*
[g] *Chrysost. ad popul. Antioch homil. 61.*
[h] *Cyril. dialog. de trinitat. lib. 4.*

world, though he would haue laid down his life and his precious bloud as a ransome for vs, if he had not beene the true sonne of God, & as it were, God of God. Where as now [i] *Vnus dignitate vniuersos superans, pro omnibus mortuus est, & quæcunq; sub cœlo sunt sanguine suo redemit, deoq; & patri vniuersæ terræ habitatores acquisiuit.* He alone exceeding al other in worth & valew died for al, & by his bloud redeemed all things vnder heauen, & purchased to God his father the inhabitants of the whole earth.

[i] *Cyril. tom. 2 epistola. 1.*

[k] Matth. 20.

[l] Esay. 53.

How Christ gaue his soule a ransome for many.

[But our sauior saith the son of man came [k] *dare animã suã redemptionem pro multis*, to giue his soule a ransome for many. And Esay foretold as much, that he should [l] make his soule an offering for sin] It is no great matterie to cite places of scripture in shew repugnant one to the other; howbeit in trueth these are not contrarieties, but cõsequents to the former authorities. For where the soule of man is the life of his bodie; Christ could not die for our sinnes, but he must laie down his soule to death, that it might be separated from his bodie & so giue HIS SOVLE, that is, his LIFE a ransome for many, & an offering for sin. And so the very trãslators, ỹ otherwise fauor this opinion of hel paines, do interprete those words: [m] The son of man came not to be serued but to serue, & to giue HIS LIFE a ransome for many. And the like elsewhere: [n] *Bonus pastor dat animã pro ouibus*, The good shepheard giueth HIS LIFE for his sheep [n] *Animã meã pono pro ouibus meis*; I lay down my LIFE for my sheep. [n] *Diligit me pater quia pono animã meã, vt iterũ sumã eam.* My father loueth me because I lay downe my life to take it againe. And indeed that phrase PONERE ANIMAM in the Scriptures doth alwaies note a voluntary yeelding of the life, which is A LAYING ASIDE OF THE SOVLE, for ỹ loue of others; as where Peter saith, [o] *Ponam animam meã pro te*; he did not meane he would go to hel for his maister, there was no cause nor nede thereof; but I will lay down MY LIFE for thee. And when S. Iohn telleth vs, [p] *Quoniam ille animã suã posuit pro nobis, & nos debemus animas ponere pro fratribus*; hee doth not charge vs to hazard our soules by sin or hel for others; but insomuch as Christ

[m] Matth. 20.

[n] Iohn. 10

[o] Iohn. 13.

[p] 1. Iohn. 3.

gaue

gaue His LIFE for vs, wee ought to GIVE OVR LIVES for our brethren. So that for Christ to LAY ASIDE HIS SOVLE, or to PO VRE IT OVT VNTO DEATH; was not to suffer hell paines for our sakes, but to die for our sins; & al those places are rather coherent, thē dissident to the rest of ẏ scriptures, which I alleaged.

And yet because the ancient fathers some times sate that Christ gaue his soule for our soules, as hee did his flesh for our flesh, & the scriptures often affirme hee gaue himselfe; I will come to the third effect of Christs crosse, which is the MIGHTY POVVER OF HIS DEATH; and there examine what part of Christ died for our sinnes, and howe by his death the guilt of sinne, the curse of the lawe, the sting of death, and the strength of Satan are not onelie weakened, and wasted, but extinguished and abolished, that they ẏ shal neuer preuaile against him or his elect. The power of Christs death.

That the Sonne of God loued vs & gaue [q] himselfe for vs, making the purgatiō of our sinnes in his [r] own person, by the [s] sacrifice of himself to put away sinne; is a case so cleere, that it nēd not to be prooued, much lesse may be doubted without apparant subuersion of the christian faith: but whether Christ suffered the death of the whole man, his soule tasting for the time an inwarde and spirituall death in satisfaction of our sinnes; as his flesh did an externall & corporall dissolution of nature, this by some men is questioned in our daies. That for our sakes he humbled himself, & was obedient vnto death euen the death of ẏ crosse, is out of al doubt; the Euangelists describe the maner of his death, the apostles the cause; to wit the REDEMPTION of our sins, the CONFIRMATION of the new testament, the RECONCILIATION of man to God, the DESTRVCTION of him that was ruler of death, & the IMITATION of his obedience, who suffered for vs leauing an exāple [t] ẏ we should follow his steps. Al this he performed with ẏ death of his flesh, the Scriptures no where mentioning anie other kinde of death, that I can read. Where a testament is, there must be the death of him that made the testament. For the testamēt is confirmed

[q] Galat. 2
[r] Hebre. 1
[s] Hebre. 9
By Christes death the scriptures meane the death of his body.
[t] 1. Peter. 2.

confirmed when men are dead. Christ is the mediator of the new Testament, that through death which was for the redemption of the trespasses in the former Testament, they which are called might receiue the promise of eternall inheritance. **This plainelie expresseth the death of the bodie. For God forbid mens Testaments should be frustrate, till their soules haue tasted the second death: but from the death of the bodie all testaments take their force. Wherefore the new testament is confirmed by the bodilie death of Christ, and there neede no**

[x] Colos.1 **paines of hell before it can be good.** [x] You ý in times past were strangers and enemies in mind by euill works, hath he nowe reconciled in the body of his flesh through death to make you holie, vndefiled, and faultlesse before him. Paul thought it not enough to say, Wee were reconciled vnto God by the death of his sonne; but that death, he addeth, was IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH, to exclude all suppofals of the death of the soule; since THE BLOVD OF CHRIST'S CROSSE did PACIFY

[y] Hebre.2 thinges in earth and in heauen. [y] For so much as the children were partakers of flesh and bloud, hee also did therein partake with them, that through death hee might destroy him that had power of death euen the deuill. **The death of the spirit maie bee without flesh and bloud; as we see in the Deuils who are dead in spirite. But Christ tooke flesh and bloud, that by the death of his flesh hee might destroie the deuill, that insulted and raigned ouer the weakenesse of mans flesh.** [z] Wee are

[z] Rom.6 buried (with Christ) by baptisme into his death, and if we bee grafted with him into the similitude of his death, we shalbe likewise into his resurrection: knowing this that our old man is crucified with him that the body of sinne might bee destroied, that henceforth wee shoulde not serue sinne, for hee that is dead is freed from sinne. **So manie wordes, so manie reasons to proone that Christ died not for vs the death of the soule, but onelie of the bodie.** Wee are buried with him by Baptisme; **his bodie not his soule was buried.** Wee are grafted into the similitude of his death; **not the soule but sinne dieth in**

vs

vs, when we are grafted into Christ, for hee quickeneth our spirits. Our olde man was crucified with him; his soule was not crucified but his flesh: that the body of sinne might be destroied; by the death of the soule the body of sinne is strengthned and encreased. That henceforth we should not serue sinne; they must nedes serue sinne, whose soules are deade with sinne. He that is dead is freed from sinne; but he that is deade in spirit, is subiected to the force & furie of sinne. The death of Christ then is mentioned no where in the Scriptures, but the verie words or circumstances, doe clerely confirme that they speake of the death which he suffered for vs on the crosse, IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH.

That Christ did or could suffer the death of the soule, is a position far from the words, but farther from the groundes of the sacred scriptures. For in God there is no death, and without God there is no life of the soule. So that it is neither possible for the soule ioyned with God to die, nor for the soule separated from God to liue. Then if Christs soule were at ante time deade, it lost all coniunction and communion with God; and consequentlie the personall vnion of God and man in Christ was for that time dissolued, and the grace and presence of Gods spirit were vtterlie taken from him; and so during that space, there coulde bee in Christ neither obedience, humility, patience, holines nor loue, which are the fruits of Gods spirit; yea the soule of Christ, if it were but for an houre depriued of Gods grace and spirit, must nedes for that time be subiected to all sinne and wickednesse, which the diuel himselfe dare not auouch of the soule of Christ. Men mate doe well therefore to beware how they venture vnaduisedlie to sate, that Christ suffered the death of the soule, for howsoeuer they may frame vnto themselues a new kind of death in the soule of Christ, as they thinke far from these absurdities and blasphemies; yet both scriptures & fathers mightilie contradict that lose, if not lewde assertion. [a] With thee is the fountaine of life, saith Dauid to God. Then if the soule of Christ

Christ could not die the death of the soule.

[a] Psal. 36.

were alwaies toined with God, or so much as in Gods fauor, it must nœds haue life; for [b] in (Gods) fauour there is life. Yea the presence of Gods spirit giueth life. [c] *Spiritus est qui viuificat*; it is the spirit ỳ quickneth, saith our Sauiour; and Paul ſeyeth the same words. Where then THE SPIRIT OF GOD is, there is LIFE, and consequently the soule ỳ is dead is deprined of Gods spirit. Now from whom the spirit of God is departed; in him must nœds want al the fruits of Gods spirit; and so the soule, that is dead, is excluded from all godlinesse and vertue. For these are not onelie signes, but effectes of Gods spirit working in the soule of man. And since betwæn righteousnes and vnrighteousnes there is no middle, the soule of man wanting light, truth, and sanctitie, of force must be filled with darkenes, error, & iniquity; which to surmise in the soule of Christ, is the highst of all impietie. [d] As manie as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God. If Christes soule wanted at anie time the spirit of God, he was not the sonne of God. If he euer and alwaies had the spirit of life dwelling in him, his soule coulde at no time be dead. For the [e] spirite is life through righteousnesse. But whie seeke we proofes that Christes soule could not die, since he himselfe is the AVTHOR and GIVER OF LIFE? [f] I am the waie, the truth, and THE LIFE saith our Sauiour. [g] He that beleeueth in me hath euerlasting life. [h] I am the resurrection and the life: hee that beleeueth in mee, though hee were dead, he shall liue. And hee that liueth, and beleeueth in me, shal neuer die. If the soule of him that beleeueth in Christ shal neuer die, how could Christ himself at anie time die in soule? [i] Christ is our life; howe then shall we be sure neuer to die, if the fountaine of our life in Christes person might for the time bee dried vp with death? shall we haue fuller or perfiter fruition of life then Christ Jesus our heade, who [k] giueth life to all his sheepe? but he had so plentifull, perpetuall, and personall possession of life, not onelie for himselfe, but for vs all, that the Apostle saith, the first *Adam* was made a liuing

[b] Psal. 30.
[c] Iohn. 6
[c] 2. Corinth. 3.
[d] Rom. 8
[e] Rom. 8.
[f] Iohn. 14
[g] Iohn. 6.
[h] Iohn. 11
[i] Colos. 3.
[k] Iohn. 10

soule,

soule, the last *Adam* was made a [l] quickening spirit; that is not only to haue life in himself, but to giue life to others. Could hee then at anie time be a deade soule, whome the holy ghost affirmeth to be made a QVICKENING SPIRIT? could he giue that to others, which himselfe did lacke? or loose that which he once had? I know to giue life is proper to God, and for that cause the soule of Christ could not haue that power by creation, but by coniunction with his godhead; and in that respect was the receptacle whereby the life and grace of his diuine nature was deriued vnto his humane, with such abundance, and assurance, that of his [m] fulnes we al haue receaued; insomuch that the [n] words which he spake, were spirit and life; and the [n] flesh which he toke, was the bread of life; yea the body of Christ dying did not only resist and represse the force of death; but rising againe destroied death, & restored life to the world. If the temple of his bodie were stronger then death, what was the sanctuarie of his soule?

[l] 1. Corinth. 15

[m] Iohn. 1

[n] Iohn. 6

I wish therfore all men, that professe themselues christiãs, to be soberlie minded; and with the learned and auncient fathers to acknowledge, that there is not mentioned in the scriptures ante death of the soule, besides SINNE, & eternall DAMNATION; neither of the which with ante moderation or mitigation can be attributed to Christ without shamefull blasphemie. [o] *Anima peccans ipsa morietur*. The soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. In these wordes are both deaths of the soule expressed; the first voluntarie when for the delights of sinne wee refuse the preceptes of God: the other necessarie, when God by his iustice withdraweth his presence from vs, and executeth his VENGEANCE on vs, that neuer shall haue end. That sinne is a death of the soule, cannot be denied. Let the [p] dead bury their dead, saith Christ to one of his disciples, follow thou me. Which must nedes be meant of such as are liuing in body, & dead in soule, as Paule speaketh of wanton widowes, she which liueth in pleasure, is [q] dead whiles shee liueth. These the scripture calleth DEAD

The death of the soule is either sinne, or damnation.

[o] Ezech. 18

[p] Matth. 8

[q] 1. Timoth. 5

IN SINNE. When we were [t] dead by sinnes, God quickened vs together with Christ. And again, You, which [f] were dead in sinnes, hath he quickened together with Christ, forgiuing you all your trespasses. From this death I make no doubt but all christian men with heart and voice will clerelie discharge the [s] VNSPOTTED and VNDEFILED Lambe of God, who did [u] no sinne, neither was there any guile found in his mouth.

[t] Ephes. 2
[f] Colos. 2
[s] 1. Pet. 1.
[u] 1. Peter. 2.

The other kinde of the death of the soule, which is damnation, must be farther from Christ then euer was sinne. For not onelie Christes innocency should bee vniustlie condemned, which were altogether repugnant to Gods righteousnesse; but the honne of God wronged, and mans saluation wholy subuerted. Nothing might befall the humane nature of Christ, which was vnfitting for his diuine; both being ioined in one person. And if our Sauiour were condemned to hell; which way shall we thinke to scape the iust and fearefull iudgement of God for our manifold and grieuous sinnes? he was indeed condemned by man, that gaue wrongfull sentence of death against him; but hee was acquited of God. And because hee humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse, God highly [x] exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue all names, as well in witnesse of his innocencie, as in reward of his humility. Yea the holie ghost, which [y] recordeth Christes assurance, confidence, and reioicing in God, as hee hung on the crosse, cleane excludeth all suspicion that he suffered the death of the soule. For the soule in this life can haue no fuller, nor faster coherence with God, then Christ had. And since God is the true life of the soule; the inseparable coniunction of Christes soule with God proueth a continuall perswasion, and fruition of eternal life; which by no meanes admitteth anie danger or doubt, much lesse anie sence or sufferance of the second death being the iust wages of sinne, whereby the wicked are euerlastinglie punished. [z] *Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum cæterarũ naturam, sed*

[x] Philip. 2
[y] Psal. 16.
[z] August. epi. 6.

sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est: quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest. Surely the soule of Christ (saith Austen) was not only immortall in nature as the rest; but was NEITHER DEAD WITH ANY SIN, nor PVNISHED WITH DAMNATION: which two wayes the death of the soule may be vnderstood. If then neither transgression, nor damnation may be ascribed to the soul of Christ, it is euident he suffered not the death of the soule; yea to subiect the soule of Christ to either of these two deaths, which onelie are the deaths of the soule, were more horrible blasphemie, then I hope anie Christian man meaneth to incurre.

[But I mistake the death of the soule.] I must confesse I therein followe the sacred Scriptures, and ancient fathers; other kinde of death of the soule I know none, because I reade none sufficie prooued. These two are manifest in the scriptures. That sinne killeth the soule, besides manie other places before cited, Saint Paule shortly sheweth in these words. [a] SIN REVIVED, BVT I DIED: for sinne deceiued me, and slue me. And likewise our sauiour, except you beleeue, you shall [b] die in your sinnes. That euerlasting death is the wages of sinne, I take it to be as cleare a case, as the former. These shal go into [c] euerlasting punishmēt, saith Christ to the wicked. They shall be [d] punished with euerlasting perdition, saith Paule of the ignorant and disobedient. The smoke of their torments shal ascend [e] euermore, saith Iohn in his Reuelation. The [f] lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death. Howe the ancient fathers define the death of the soule, is sone seene by their writings. *Dicam audacter fratres sed tamen verum. Duæ vitæ sunt; una corporis, altera animæ, sicut vita corporis anima, sic vita animæ deus. Quomodo si anima deserat, moritur corpus; sic moritur anima si deserat Deus.* [g] I wil speake boldlie (saith Austen) but trulie. There are two sortes of life, one of the bodie, another of the soule. As the soule is the life of the body, so God is the life of the soule; & as if

The death of the soule is a separation frō God.

[a] Rom. 7.
[b] Iohn. 8.
[c] Mat. 25.
[d] 2 Thes. 1.
[e] Reuel. 14.
[f] Reuel. 20.
[g] *Augustī. in Psal. 70.*

the soule depart the body dieth; so dieth the soule, if God forsake it. [h] *Mors proprie non est ea, quæ animam à corpore, sed quæ animam à Deo separat. Deus vita est, qui a Deo separatur, mortuus est.* That is not properly death (saieth Cyrill) which seuereth the soule from the bodie, but that which seuereth the soule from God. God is life; and therefore hee that is separated from God, is dead. [i] *Anima quæ peccat moritur, non vtique aliqua sui dissolutione, sed merito moritur Deo, quia viuit peccato. Ergo quæ non peccat, non moritur.* The soule which sinneth dieth, (sayeth Ambrose) not by anie dissolution of her substaunce, but worthilie dieth shee vnto God, because shee liueth vnto sinne. The soule then which sinneth not, dieth not. [k] *Anima in corpore vita est carnis; Deus vero qui viuificat omnia, vita est animarum.* [l] *Sicut mors exterior ab anima diuidit carnem, ita mors interior à Deo separat animam.* The soule in the bodie (saith Gregorie) is the life of the flesh, but God that quickeneth all things is the life of the soule; as the outwarde death diuideth the bodye from the soule, so the inward death diuideth the soule from God. [m] *Sicut anima vita est corporis, ita Deus vita est animæ.* [n] *Mors animæ separatio à Deo, mors corporis separatio animæ à corpore.* As the soule is the life of the bodie, so God is the life of the soule, saith Bernard. The death of the soule is to be separated from God; the death of the bodie is the departure of the soule from the bodie. Neither doe I see howe this definition of the death of the soule can be auoyded or amended. For can there be life from any other, but onelie from God? If it bee good, it must come from the fountaine of all goodnesse; and [o] none is good but onelie God. Then the soule which is partaker of God, is partaker of life; and to be seuered from God, is to be seuered from life which is the true description of death.

[h] *Cyril. homil. 10. de exitu animæ.*

[i] *Ambros. de bono mortis ca 9*

[k] *Gregor. in Ezech. homil. 17*

[l] *Idem moralium lib. 9. Cap. 38.*

[m] *Bernard. serm. paru. 3. & aliis ser. paru. num. 7*

[o] Luc. 18.

The fathers mainely teach that christ died the death of ỹ flesh ONELY.

Rightly therefore do the auncient Fathers teach, that Christ dying for our sinnes, suffered ONLY THE DEATH OF THE BODIE, but not of the soule: and the scriptures whersoeuer they mention the death of Christ, must haue the

the like construction. For the soule of Christ could not die, so long as it had the presence and assistance of Gods spirit; yea we leaue him neither faith nor hope, loue nor ioy, obedience nor patience, nor any other merites or vertues, if wee subiect him to the death of the soule; for these are the buds and fruits of life. From which if we cannot exclude the soule of Christ, no not for a moment, without sacrilegious impietie, it remaineth that Christ neither suffered nor tasted the death of the soule, but onelie the death of the bodie. [o] In his bodie he bare our sinnes on the tree; and [p] reconciled vs vnto God, in the BODY OF HIS FLESH THROVGH DEATH, when we were straungers and enemyes in heart, by reason of our euill workes. [q] *Quid est enim quod viuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro* QVA SOLA FVERAT MORTIFICATVS *viuificante spiritu resurrexit? Nam* QVOD ANIMA FVERAT MORTIFICATVS IESVS, *hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est,* QVIS AVDEAT DICERE, *cum mors animæ non sit nisi peccatum, à quo ille omnino immunis fuit? Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundum* SOLAM CARNEM *mortuus est.* What is meant by this, that Christ was quickened in spirite, but that the same flesh, IN WHICH ONELIE HE DIED, rose againe quickened by the spirite? For that Iesus was DEAD IN SPIRIT WHO DARE AVOVCH, I meane in his humane spirite, since as the death of the soule is nothing but sinne, from which hee was altogither free? And least wee should thinke this slipte his penne, elsewhere hee largelie and learnedlie handleth the same matter. (*Diabolus*) [r] *per impietatem* MORTVVS EST IN SPIRITV, *carne vtique mortuus non est: nobis autem & impietatem persuasit, & per hanc vt in mortem carnis venire mereremur effecit. Quô ergo nos Mediator mortis transmisit, & ipse* NON VENIT, *hoc est ad* MORTEM CARNIS: *ibi nobis Dominus Deus noster medicinam emendationis inseruit quam ille non meruit*, By sinne the Diuell

[o] 1 Pet. 2.

[p] Colos. 1.

[q] *August. epist. 99.*

[r] *Idem de trinitate, lib. 4 ca. 13.*

DIED

DIED IN SPIRIT; in flesh he died not: but to vs hee perswaded sinne, and thereby brought vs to deserue the death of the flesh. Whither then the mediator of death cast vs, and came not himselfe, that is to the death of the bodie; euen there the Lord our God appointed a medicine to cure vs, which the Diuell neuer obtained. **And noting the remedie prouided for vs in the bodilie death of Christ, he saith,** [f] *Vitæ mediator ostendens, quam non sit mors timenda, quæ per humanam conditionem iam euadi non potest, sed potius impietas quæ per fidem cauere potest occurrit nobis* AD FINEM QVO *venimus, sed* NON QVA VENIMVS. *Nos enim ad mortem per peccatum venimus, ille per iustitiam; & ideo cum sit mors nostra pœna peccati, mors illius facta est hostia pro peccato.* The Mediatour of life (**Christ Iesus**) to shewe vs that death is not to bee feared, which by humane condition can nowe not bee escaped, but rather impietie, which by fayth may be auoyded; mette vs in the ende whither wee were come, but not in the way by which we came. For we came by sinne to death; but hee by righteousnesse: and so where our death is the punishment of sinne; his death is the sacrifice for sinne. **And therefore the death which Christ suffered in his bodie on the Crosse, did** purge, abolish, and extinguish **all our sinnes, whereby the power of Satan iustly detained vs to abide the punishment of our transgressions.** [g] *Quia viuum spiritu mortuus spiritu non inuasit, quoquo modo auidus mortis humanæ conuertit se ad faciendam mortem quã potuit; &* PERMISSVS EST IN ILLVD, QVOD EX NOBIS MORTALE *viuus mediator acceperat: Et vbi potuit aliquid facere, ibi omni ex parte deuictus est, & vnde accepit exterius potestatem dominicæ carnis occidendæ, inde interior eius potestas, quã nos tenebat, occisa est. Factum est enim, vt vincula peccatorum multorum* IN MVLTIS MORTIBVS PER VNIVS VNAM MORTEM, *quam peccatum nullum præcesserat, soluerentur. Ita Diabolus hominem in ipsa morte* CARNIS *amisit.* Because (**the Diuell**) deade in spirite coulde not inuade (**Christ**) liuing in spirite; as most desirous

[f] *Ibidem.*

[g] *Ibidem cap. 13*

to

to kill man, hee fastened on that death which hee coulde compasse and was suffered to kill that mortall (bodie) which the liuing Mediatour tooke from mankinde; and where he could doe anie thing, euen there was hee euerie waie conquered; and whence hee receyued outwardlie power to kill the Lords bodie, thence was his inwarde power, whereby hee helde vs, ouerthrowne. By which it came to passe, that the chaines of manie sinnes deseruing manie deathes were loosed by the one death of one, in whome was no sinne. So the Diuell lost man By THE VERIE DEATH OF (Christs) FLESH. Yea the death of Christ should leade vs patientlie to suffer the same death for him which hee suffered for vs. [n] *Hactenus morerentur ad Christi gratiam pertinentes, quatenus pro illis ipse mortuus est Christus*, CARNIS TANTVM MORTE NON SPIRITVS. So farre shoulde they, which belong to the grace of Christ, die as Christ died for them; that is, the DEATH OF THE BODIE ONELIE, AND NOT OF THE SPIRIT. And by that death of his bodie he freed vs from both. [x] SOLIVS CORPORIS MORTEM *Dei filius pro nobis accepit, per quam à nobis & dominationem peccati, & pœnam æternæ punitionis excluſit.* The death OF THE BODIE ONLIE THE SONNE OF GOD SVFFERED FOR VS, by which he deliuered vs both from the dominion of sin, and from eternall damnation.

[n] *Augustin. de Trinitate lib. 13 cap. 15.*

[x] *Idem de tempore, Serm. 162.*

Cyrillus teacheth the same doctrine. [y] *Si intelligatur Deus incarnatus, & propria carne passus, parua est erga ipsum omnis creatura, & sufficit ad redemptionem mundi* VNIVS CARNIS MORS. If wee vnderstand (Christ) to bee God incarnate, and to haue suffered in his owne flesh; of small value in respect of him are all creatures, and sufficient to redeeme the worlde is the DEATH OF HIS ONELY FLESH. And likewise Gregorie. [z] *Nos quia monte a Deo recessimus, & carne ad peiuerem redimus, pœna duplæ mortis astringimur. Sed venit ad nos qui* SOLA CARNE PRO NOBIS MORERETVR, ET SIMPLAM SVAM DV-

[y] *Cyril. de recta fide ad reginas lib. 2.*

[z] *Greg. moral. lib. 9. cap. 15.*

PLAE NOSTRAE *iungeret & nos* AB VTRAQVE MORTE *liberaret.* Because in heart wee were departed from God, and in flesh returning to dust, wee are tied to the punishment OF A DOVBLE DEATH. But (Christ) came vnto vs, which DIED IN THE FLESH ONLY FOR VS. and ioyning HIS ONE KINDE OF DEATH TO BOTH OVRS, DELIVERED VS FROM BOTH. And more at large, the same father debating the same matter; [a] *Vmbra mortis mors carnis accipitur quia sicut vera mors est, qua anima separatur à Deo, ita vmbra mortis est, qua caro separatur ab anima. Quos enim constat* NON SPIRITV SED SOLA CARNE MORI, *ne-quaquam se vera morte, sed vmbra mortis dicunt operiri. Quid est ergo quod beatus Iob postulat vmbram mortis nisi quod ad delenda peccata ante Dei oculos, Dei & hominum Mediatorem requirit, qui* SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS *susciperet, & veram mortem delinquentium, per vmbram suæ mortis deleret? Ad nos quippe venit qui* IN MORTE SPIRITVS CARNISQVE TENEBAMVR VNAM *ad nos suâ mortẽ detulit, &* DVAS NOSTRAS, *quas reperit soluit.* SI ENIM IPSE VTRAMQVE SVSCIPERET NOS A NVLLA LIBERARET: *sed* VNAM *misericorditer accepit, &* IVSTE VTRAMQVE *damnauit* SIMPLAM SVAM DVPLAE NOSTRAE *cõtulit &* DVPLAM NOSTRAM MORIENS SVBEGIT. *Qui ergo* SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS SVSCEPIT *vmbrã mortis pertulit, & a dei oculis culpam quam fecimus, abscondit.* The shadow of death is takẽ for the death of the bodie, for that as it is the true death, whereby the soule is separated from God; so it is but the shadow of death, whereby the bodie is separated from the soule. For they which assuredly die NOT THE DEATH OF THE SPIRIT, BVT ONLY OF THE FLESH, they doe not say they are couered with the true death, but with the shadow of death. To what end then doth blessed Iob aske for the shadow of death, but that to wipe away sinne out of Gods sight, hee seeketh for the Mediator of God & man, who should vndertake FOR VS THE DEATH

[a] *Idem moralium lib. 4. cap. 17.*

OF

OF THE BODIE ONLY, and by the shadow of his death might extinguish the true death of sinners? Hee came to vs that WERE SVBIECT BOTH TO THE DEATH OF THE SPIRIT AND OF THE FLESH, and by HIS SINGLE DEATH HE LOOSED BOTH OVR DEATHS. If he should haue SVFFERED BOTH, HE COVLD HAVE DELIVERED VS FROM NEITHER. But he mercifully VNDERTOOKE ONE OF THEM and iustlie CONDEMNED BOTH. He ioyned HIS SINGLE DEATH TO OVR DOVBLE DEATH, and dying CONQVERED BOTH OVR DEATHS. He then which for vs TOOKE VPON HIM ONLY THE DEATH OF THE BODY suffered the shadow of death, and hid from Gods eies, the sinne which we had committed. Bernard likewise. *Cum gemina morte secundum vtramq; naturam homo damnatus fuisset, altera quidem spiritali & voluntaria, altera corporali & necessaria; vtriq; deus homo,* VNA SVA CORPORALI *ac voluntaria benigne & potenter occurrit,* ILLAQVE SVA VNA NOSTRAM VTRAMQVE DAMNAVIT. Where man was condemned vnto a double death, to witte, in either part of his nature; the one death spirituall and voluntarie, the other corporall and necessarie; God beeing made man did mightilie and mercifullie release both our Deathes, with his ONE CORPORALL and voluntarie Death; and with THAT ONE DEATH OF HIS DESTROYED BOTH OVRS. And so concludeth; *Dum sponte, & tantum in corpore moritur, & vitam nobis & iustitiam promeretur.* VVhiles Christ dyed willinglie and ONELY in his BODY he merited for vs both righteousnesse and life. *Bernard. ad milit. templi. cap. 11.*

I hope to all men learned, or well aduised it will seeme no Iesuitcall phrensie, but rather christian & catholike doctrine, that the son of God dying for our sinnes, suffered NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, but ONLIE OF THE BODIE by the hands of the Iewes: and by the bodily & bloudie sacrifice of himself, did not only redeeme & cleanse both our soules & bodies, but destroied sin & death, purging our transgressions by the merit of his obedience, & swalowing vp death by power of his life And *How Christ gaue himselfe wholy for vs.*

[b] 1. Tim. 2

And howsoeuer the scriptures sometimes affirme that hee gaue [b] himselfe a ransome for all men, and the Fathers likewise teach, that hee gaue his flesh for our flesh, and his soule for our soules: yet neither Scriptures nor Fathers haue anie meaning either to subiect Christ to the death of the soule, which assertion they abhorre as wicked; or to diminish the force or fruit of his bodily death, which they extoll as most sufficient; but to expresse that in the death of his flesh on the crosse his soule did suffer the sense of paine, and smart of death which parted the bodie and soule in sunder; and so ioyntlie with the bodie, and seuerallie by it selfe, the soule of Christ had not onely temptations, afflictions and passions, but euen endured the naturall sting and sharpenesse of death, to which he submitted his soule, that he might haue the [c] feeling of our infirmities, and in all things bee tempted as wee are: but still without sinne. How Christ gaue himselfe wholy for vs, we maie learne out of Bernard. [d] *Sicut* TOTVM HOMINEM *saluum fecit, sic* DE TOTO SE HOSTIAM *fecit salutarem; corpus exponens tantis supplicijs & iniurijs, animam vera gemine cuiusdam humanissimæ compassionis affectui, inde super mœrore inconsolabili sanctarum fœminarum, inde super desperatione & dispersione discipulorum. In his quatuor crux dominica fuit.* As Christ saued the VVHOLE MAN, so of HIMSELFE WHOLIE hee made a wholesome sacrifice: yeelding his bodie to so great torments and wrongs, and his soule to the feeling of a double most tender compassion, on the one side for the vncomfortable greefe of the holie women; on the other side for the desperation and dispersion of his disciples. In these foure consisted the crosse of Christ. Since then the death of Christ did both affect and afflict his soule and his bodie; fullie might Irenaus say, [e] The Lord bought vs with his owne bloud, and gaue his soule for our soules, and his flesh for our flesh. For in dying hee layde downe his soule not onelie to sorowe, greefe and paine, but euen to the bitter diuorce of death, that brake the communion of bodie and

[c] Heb. 4.

[d] Bernard in ramis palmarum. Serm. 3.

[e] Irenæum. lib. 5. cap. 1.

and soule. [f] *Sicut* TOTVS SEMETIPSVM *tradidit*, & TOTVS HOMO SEMETIPSVM OBTVLIT, *ita totus homo* ANIMAM SVAM POSVIT, *cũ anima, in cruce moriente carne, discesſit*. As WHOLE Christ gaue HIM SELFE (saith Fulgentius) and the WHOLE MAN OFFERED HIMSELFE, so the whole man LAYD DOWNE HIS SOVLE, whẽ the flesh dying on the crosse, the soule departed. So that Christ yelded his soule for our soules to the susception of sorrow, prepulsion of paine, and dissolution of nature; but vnto the death of the soule he did neither offer, nor yelde himselfe: since that is a separation from God, and exclusion from grace, from which it was vtterlie impossible the soule of Christ could either willingly, or forceablie for an houre be removed: yea where you find the suffering of his soule witnessed, there shall you see the DEATH OF HIS FLESH ONELIE to be auouched.

[f] *Fulgentius ad Trasimundum lib. 3.*

[g] *Quia* TOTVM HOMINEM *deus ille suscepit, ideo* TOTIVS HOMINIS *in se passiones in veritate monstrauit, & animam quidem rationalem habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis animæ sine peccato suscepit & pertulit, vt dum humanæ animæ passiones, in anima quam accepit vinceret, nostras quoque animas ab infirmitatibus liberaret. Carnem quoque humanam accipiens, in eiusdem veritate carnis, veritatem voluntariæ habuit passionis, vt* IN CARNE MORTVVS TOTAM *in se* HOMINIS OCCIDERET MORTEM. Because (the sonne of God) tooke vnto him the WHOLE NATVRE of man, therefore he shewed in himselfe the sufferings OF THE VVHOLE MAN; and hauing a reasonable soule, he tooke vpon him and endured all the infirmities of the soule, but without sinne; that whiles in the soule, which he tooke, hee conquered the pasions of mans soule, he might free our soules also from infirmities. Taking likewise mans flesh, in the truth of the same flesh he suffered a true and voluntarie pasion, that DYING IN THE FLESH, hee might kill in his person the WHOLE DEATH dew to man. Christ endured the passions of the whole man; hauing neither bodie nor soule free from suffering; but yet he died ONLY in the

[g] *Fulgentius ad Trasimundum lib. 3.*

FLESH, and thereby he killed the WHOLE DEATH inflicted on the body and soule of man.[h] *Quis ignorat Christum* IN SOLO CORPORE MORTVVM *& sepultũ?* Who is ignorãt that Christ in BODY ONLY DIED, and was buried? And againe, [i] *Sicut in* MORTE SOLIVS CARNIS *immortalis fuit, sic in passionibus totius hominis impassibilis omnino permansit.* The godheade of Christ was immortall when ONELY HIS BODY DIED, and impassible, when the whole man suffered. [k] *Mortente carne, non solum deitas sed* NEC ANIMA CHRISTI POTEST OSTENDI COMMORTVA. When Christs bodie died, not onelie his deitie, but his SOVLE CANNOT BE SHEWED TO HAVE BEEN PARTAKER OF DEATH. Wherefore I cannot admitte the wordes of Nazianzene to be true, that euerie part in man is [l] sanctified by the like in Christ, our condemned flesh by his flesh, our soule by his soule, our vnderstanding by his vnderstanding; yea I dislike not the wordes of Cyrill; [m] *Carnem suam in redemptionis pretium pro omnium carne dependit; & animam suam similiter pro omnium anima redemptionis pretium constituit, quamuis iterum reuixerit, vita secundum naturam existens.* Christ yeelded his flesh, as a ransome for the flesh of all men, and made his soule likewise a price to redeeme the soules of all, though he were restored againe to life, as beeing life by nature: so long as we abuse not his wordes to maintaine our fansies impugning his generall and setled doctrine; that [n] sufficient for the redẽption of the world, is the DEATH OF HIS FLESH ONLY: not thereby take occasion to defend that his bloud is not able to iustifie, or sanctifie the beleeuers.[o] *Sanguine suo; hoc est* SVAE CARNIS SANGVINE *iustificat omnes in se credentes.* With his bloud, that is with THE BLOVD OF HIS FLESH he iustifieth all that beleeue in him.[p] SINON ALIO MODO SALVANDVS ERAT *mundus nisi in* SANGVINE ET CORPORE *morti* VTILITER *derelicto, quo pacto non necessarius verbo incarnationis modus vt iustificet in sanguine suo credẽtes in se, & conciliet patri per mortẽ sui corporis?* If the world MIGHT

NONE

[h] *Ibidem.*
[i] *Ibidem.*
[k] *Ibidem.*
[l] *Nazianzen. in orat. 49. ad Cledonium.*
[m] *Cyril. de recta fide ad Theodosium.*
[n] *Cyril de recta fide ad reginas lib. 2.*
[o] *Idem de recta fide ad reginas lib. 1*
[p] *Ibidem.*

NONE OTHER VVAY BE SAVED but by Christes leauing his BODIE AND BLOVD VNTO DEATH for our good, howe was not the taking of flesh necessarie for the sonne of God, that by his bloud hee might iustifie such as beleeued in him, and BY THE DEATH OF HIS BODIE reconcile them to God his father? [9] *Quomodo sanguis communis hominis nos sanctos efficeret? sed sanctificauit sanguis Christi. Deus igitur & non simpliciter homo; deus enim erat in carne,* SVO SANGVINE *nos purificans.* How could the bloud of a common man make vs holie? BVT THE BLOVD OF CHRIST DID SANCTIFIE vs. He was therefore God and not simplie a man. For he was God in FLESH THAT CLENSED VS VVITH HIS BLOVD. [9] *Ibidem.*

When the ancient fathers affirme, that Christ died for vs THE DEATH OF THE BODY ONLY, and that the BLOVD OF HIS FLESH doth saue and sanctifie the beleeuers; we must not like children imagine they speake of insensible flesh, or that in those wordes they exclude the vnion, operation or passion of the soule, whiles Christes bodie suffered and died: that were to make Christ a stocke, not a man, and to giue him carrion, and not humane flesh quickened and coupled with life and soule; but in the death of his bodie & shedding of his bloud, they include all those afflictions and passions of the soule, which naturally & necessarily follow paine & accompany death. For these sufferings of Christs soule confirme his obedience, & witnes his patience; only their intent is by all meanes to free Christ from THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, and then to propose the death which hee suffered in the bodie of his flesh on the crosse, with all painefull, but no sinneful concomitants and consequents, as the propitiation for our sinnes, redemption of our soules, and reconciliation vnto God: by which al y aduersaries of our saluation the law, sinne, death and Satan are vtterlie conquered and abolished. And thus farre forth they haue the scriptures expressely concurring

The death of Christs flesh redeemeth as well soule as bodie.

[r] 1.Iohn.1 concurring with them. [r] The bloud of Iesus Christ his sonne
[f]Hebre.9 cleanseth vs from all sinne. It must cleanse then our soules, as
wel as our bodies; for they are the chiefe agents in sin. [f] Much
more shall the bloud of Christ purge your consciences from
dead works. Conscience is a part of the soule; not of the bo-
[t]Reuelat.5. die. [t] Thou hast redeemed vs to God by thy bloud, saie
the saintes in heauen, whose bodies lie in the dust of the earth.
Redemption, remission of sinnes, iustification, sanctification,
and such like effectes of the bloud of Christ are PRINCI-
PALLY and PRIMARDLY in the soule; and by consequent
in the bodie. And therefore there can be no question, but the
bodilie death of Christ is the redemption of our soules, as
wel as of our bodies, in as much as the whole mã in Christ
died the death of the crosse, to redeeme the whole man in vs;
both partes in him toyntlie feeling; but with admirable pa-
tience enduring, the bitter and sharpe paines antecedent,
[u] *August. epist.* 120. and annexed to the death of his bodie. [u] *Cum caro in doloribus est, & in pœnis, profecto anima tunc habet maximum agonem patientiæ.* When the flesh is in anguish and paine, (saith Austen)
then the soule certainly hath the greatest triall of patience. For
the soule is so created and ordained that shee feeleth the plea-
sure and paine of her bodie; and howsoeuer the flesh bee sub-
iected to violence, the sence and grieuance thereof is in the
soule, both in this life, and in the nexte.

The bodilie death of christ ouerthrew all the enemies of our saluation, [x] Rom. 7. [y] Ephes. 2. [z] 2.Timoth.3

As the bodilie death of Christ paieth the price of our re-
demption: so it remoueth all the impediments of our salua-
tion, which are manie and mightilie linked together. For by
the CORRVPTION of nature descending from our pa-
rents, and dwelling within vs, wee are [x] solde vnder sinne,
[y] fulfilling the will of the flesh, and louing [z] pleasures more then
God: whereby we neglect and breake the LAVV of God, and
so incurre the CVRSE pronounced against the transgres-
sours of the law; and by that obligation are liable to ETER-
NAL DEATH. This is the chaine of originall infection,
actuall transgression, legall malediction, and eternal damnation,
which

which draweth vs from God, and bindeth vs as prisoners and captiues to death, and hell. If then the DEATH of Christ suffered [a] IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH losed euery linke of this chaine, and not onelie cleered vs from all these enemies and exactors, but reconciled vs to God, and made peace for vs [b] by the bloud of his crosse; it is a wrong to the death & bloud of Christ either to disable thē as not sufficient to redeem vs; or to supplie them with anie better or other addition, which the holie ghost doth not mention. Examine these particularlie, and see whether the power of Christes death doe not perfectlie dissolue them all. [c] Our olde man is crucified with him, that the bodie of sinne might bee destroied, that henceforth we should not serue sinne. Let not sinne raigne therefore in your mortall bodie, (saieth the Apostle) that you should obey it in the lustes thereof. The force and strength of originall sinne and corruption in all the faithfull is crucified and dead with Christ, except they reuiue it by voluntarie obeying the lustes thereof. [d] For they which are Christes, haue crucified the flesh with the affections and lustes; by reason not onelie the guilt, but also the life and power of sinne died in Christes flesh, when it was crucified. So that [e] sinne nowe hath no dominion ouer them, because they are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. And likewise for actuall sinne, (by Christ) [f] we haue redemption, through his bloud, that is the forgiuenes of sinnes. For God hath [g] proposed him to be a reconciliation through faith in his bloud by the forgiuenesse of the sinnes that are passed, through the patience of God. [h] The bloud (therefore) of Christ Iesus his sonne clenseth vs from all sinne, since he is the [i] mediator of the new Testament, (whose) death was for the redemption of the transgressions, that were in the former testament.

[a] Colos. 2.
[b] *Ibidem.*
[c] Rom. 6.
[d] Galat. 5
[e] Rom. 6.
[f] Ephes. 1. Colos. 1.
[g] Rom. 3.
[h] 1. Iohn. 1
[i] Hebre. 9

If the death of Christ on the crosse, and the shedding of his bloud were the iust and full redemption of all our sinnes, then apparentlie it eased and ended the curse which the lawe inflicted for sinne. For where he is [k] accursed, that continueth

The death of Christ on the crosse quencheth y curse of the law.

[k] Galat 3.

not in al things written in the book OF THE LAVV, to do thē; the remitting of sinne, is the releasing of the curse that is consequent to sinne. The curse importeth vengeance due to sinne. When where sinne is pardoned the curse is determined. But [l] wee haue redemption, euen remission of sinnes through his bloud. *Ergo* the bloud of Christ doth quench the curse of the law. The maner, how the curse of the law lighted & seased on the person of Christ, is thus expressed by S. Paule, [m] Christ redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, being made a curse for vs. For it is written, accursed is euery one that hangeth on the tree. As by his stripes we are healed: so by his curse we are blessed. In as much as he submitted himselfe to the curse of the law for our sinnes, not only our transgressions are pardoned, for which Christ suffered; but the law stinging him to death, lost his force for euer. For the vengeance of the law once executed on our suertie, can no more in Gods iustice be exacted of vs. But Christ receiued the sentence of the lawe in himselfe, when he bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree; wee therefore are quited for euer from the power of the lawe. Since then by his receiuing and suffering the curse of the lawe in his owne person, wee are freed and blessed; it remaineth wee search howe farre the curse prenailed against him. Wherein we must take heede that wee step not an hayres breadth from the Apostles words. For if we stretch the curse farther on Christ, then in truth it did, or could take place, wee arrogantlie and impiouslie pronounce that cursed, which indeede was blessed; and falsifie the promise of God, made to Abraham, that in his seede, which was Christ, [n] All the nations of the earth should be blessed. For howe could the blessing of Abraham be deriued from Christ to vs, if euerie part of his humane nature were accursed? Wherefore Christ must receiue the curse of the lawe in one part of himselfe, which was his flesh, and in the other which was his soule, retaine the blessing of God, as well for his flesh to bee raised againe, as for his members to bee vnited vnto him.

[l] Ephes. 1

[m] Galat. 3

[n] Genes. 22

him. If this bee not the doctrine of the holie Ghost, I vrge no man to beléeue it; if it bee, let such as will wante GODS curse, beware howe they refuse it. It is no small aduenture to extende the curse of God vpon the soule of Christ Iesus, without cléere, sound, and sure testimonie of the holie scriptures.

To shew that Christ sustained the curse of the lawe; and by his enduring it, acquited vs; Saint Paul in effect vseth this reason. ° CVRSED saieth Moses is euerie one that is hanged on the tree. But Christ was content for our sinnes to be hanged on the tree of the crosse. Hee therfore submitted himselfe to the curse of the law to redeeme vs from it. That this is Saint Paules argument, the thirde to the Galathians, to proue Christ vnder the curse of the lawe, I hope the simplest amongst you, will soone perceiue, the learnedest dare not denie. By which it is euident, that part of Christ which hung on the crosse was subiected to the curse: but the soule of Christ was not crucified: Ergo the soule of Christ was not made a curse; but onelie his bodie. And by suffering this curse, that is by hanging on the tree, hee redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, which wee had deserued both in bodie and soule. Which of these thinges canne we contradict? Shall wee saie the Apostle miss his marke, in that hee cleareth vs from the spirituall and perpetuall curse of the lawe, by Christes suffering a corporall and temporall parte thereof? or shall wee chalenge him to be so simple that he knew not the difference betwixt the one & the other? I am far from any such thought; I loue to follow and not to leade the holie ghost. In matters of so great depth I dare not wade, without, or before my guide. That Christ died hanging on a tree, the P Euangelistes are plaine. That hanging on a tree is a cursed kinde of death in the q lawe of Moses, is as manifest. That by hanging on the tree hee was made a curse for vs, and thereby redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, the r Apostle is resolute.

How Christ was made a curse for vs.

° Deuter. 21

P Matth 27 Marke. 15 Luke 23.

q Deutero. 21

r Galat. 3.

If anie man will offer farther, I must leaue him. To fasten the internall or eternall curse of the lawe, on the soule of Christ, is to my vnderstanding verie desperate diuinitie. For men might natle his bodie to the tree, as did the Iewes; but none coulde inflict the curse on his soule, but onelie God. Since then the innocencie, obedience, patience, humilitie, and sanctitie of his soule were so perfect euen in the sight of God, that it could not iustlie be but blessed, howe shoulde the righteousnesse of God immediatelie, and vniustlie laie the curse, which bringeth inwarde and euerlasting death, on the soule of Christ? Againe, God spirituallie curseth none, but whome hee first deseruedlie hateth; as all vncleane and wicked persons. If then the soule of Christ could not worthilie be hated of God, it coulde not truelie bee cursed of God; for the hatred and curse of God cannot bee seuered.

Christ was not accursed in soule.

This doctrine is ancient and catholicke. Saint Austen ripping this matter to the quicke, saieth. [f] *Securus Apostolus ait de Christo, factus est pro nobis maledictum, sicut non timuit dicere, pro omnibus mortuus est; hoc est enim mortuus, quod maledictus; quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est: & maledictum est omne peccatum, siue ipsum quod fit, vt sequatur supplicium, siue ipsum supplicium, quod alio modo vocatur peccatum, quia fit ex peccato. Suscepit autem Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum, vt inde solueret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam supplicium nostrum.* Securely the Apostle saieth of Christ that he was made a curse for vs, euen as he feared not to say, Christ DIED FOR ALL. For, HEE DIED, IS ALL ONE WITH HE WAS ACCVRSED, BECAVSE DEATH CAME FROM THE CVRSE; and all sinne is accursed, as well that which is committed and deserueth punishment, as THE PVNISHMENT IT SELFE, which in a sort is called sinne, because it is consequent to sinne. Nowe Christ bare our punishment without any desert, that thereby hee might acquite our guiltinesse, and ende our punishment. And againe. [g] *Maledictus*

[f] *August. contra Faustum Manichæum. lib. 14. ca. 4*

Christ was in that part accursed in which he died.

dictus omnis qui pendet in ligno, non hic aut ille, sed omnis omnino. Etiamne & filius dei? etiam prorsus. DISPLICET VOBIS MALEDICTVS PRO NOBIS, QVIA DISPLICET MORTVVS PRO NOBIS. *Tunc extra maledictum illius* Adam, *si extra illius mortem. Cum vero ex homine, & pro homine mortem suscepit, ex illo & pro illo etiam maledictum quod mortem comitatur suscipere non dedignatus est etiam ille, prorsus etiam ille filius Dei, semper viuus in sua iustitia, mortuus autem propter delicta nostra in carne susceptа ex pœna nostra. Sic & semper benedictus in sua iustitia, maledictus autem propter delicta nostra, in morte susceptа ex pœna nostra; ac per hoc additum est,* OMNIS: *ne Christus ad veram mortem non pertinere diceretur, si à maledicto, quod morti coniunctum est, insipienti honorificentia separaretur.* Curſed is euerie one that hangeth on the wood: not this or that man, but euery man without exception. What the ſonne of God himſelfe? yea in anie caſe. You (*Manichees*) miſlike Chriſt ſhould be accurſed for vs; becauſe you beleeue not hee died for vs. Then is Chriſt without the curſe of *Adam*, when he is without the death of *Adam*. But for ſo much as from man, and for man he did admit death; euen from man, and for man he vouchſafed to admit the curſe, which accõpanieth death; I meane euen that verie ſon of God, alwayes liuing in his owne righteouſneſſe, but dying for our ſinnes in the fleſh which he tooke from our puniſhment. So alwayes bleſſed in his owne righteouſneſſe, he was accurſed for our ſinnes in the death which hee ſuffered by reaſon of our puniſhment; and therefore the Scripture ſayth, EVERIE ONE; leaſt Chriſt ſhould be thought not truly to haue died, if by an intent of fooliſh honour he ſhould be excepted from the curſe, which is vnited vnto death. **And anſwering Fauſtus obiection; if a king commaund anie Chriſtian to worſhip the Sunne & Mone, or to be hanged on a tree; hee muſt either way of neceſſitie be accurſed:** Auſten ſaieth. [a] *Chriſtianus videt vnum maledictum pertinere ad corpus mortale, quod ligno ſuſpenditur; alterum ad animum, quo ſol adoratur: ſicut mors eſt corporis in* [a] *Ibid. in cap. 6.*

[a] *Ibid. cap. 12.*

ligno pendere, ita mors est animi solem adorare. Eligendum est igitur maledictum in corporis morte, quo maledicto & ipsum corpus in resurrectione liberabitur: deuitandum autem maledictum in animi morte, ne cum suo corpore in aeterno igne damnetur. Nolite timere maledictum corporalis mortis, quod temporaliter soluitur; sed timete maledictum mortis spiritualis, per quod anima in aeternum cum suo corpore cruciatur.

A Christian perceiueth the one curse to belong to the mortall bodie, that hangeth on the woodde; the other whereby the Sonne is worshipped, to pertaine to the soule. Hee must therefore choose the curse of the corporall death, from which curse euen his verie bodie shall be deliuered in the resurrection; and shunne the curse of the spirituall death, least togither with the bodie the soule bee damned in euerlasting fire. Feare not the curse of the corporall death, which is dissolued with time; but feare the curse of the spirituall death, by which the soule is euerlastingly tormented with her bodie. **This doctrine is so sounde, it cannot bee confuted; and so cleare, it neede not bee explained. The temporall death of the bodie came first from sinne, as a part of the curse and punishment of sinne; and so to this date doth it continue. Christ therefore in that hee yeelded his bodie to die on the Crosse, subiected himselfe to the curse of our sinne, and by suffering a part of the curse, abolished the whole: but the curse of the soule, which is the spirituall death, Christ coulde not take; because that damneth bodie and soule for euer.**

x Chrysost. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galatas.

The kinde of Christs death was accursed, & so the force of the lawe dissolued.

The rest of the ancient fathers tredd the same path. x The people (saith Chrysostome) were subiect to the curse, which saith, accursed is euery one ỹ abideth not in those things which are written in the booke of the law. For none of them had continued therein, neither had any man fulfilled the whole lawe, but Christ exchanged the curse with another, which saith, accursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree. Where then he that hangeth on the tree is accursed, and he that transgresseth the law is likewise

likewise accursed, he that shall dissolue this curse, must not bee subiect to the same; but must admit an other in steede of that; which Christ did, and so by the one loosed the other.[y] The crosse therefore tooke away the curse. Can we with plainer words, then that Christ by suffering THE CVRSE OF SVSPENSION on the crosse, tooke away THE CVRSE OF TRANSGRESSION, to which the people were subiect? *Theodorete:* [z] When all were subiect to the curse of the lawe, Christ suffered that kinde of death, which is accursed in the lawe, that hee might deliuer all men from the curse. *Cyril.* [a] *Factus est pro nobis maledictum, crucem ferens & pendens in ligno vt soluat peccatum mundi.* Christ was made a curse for vs; when hee endured the Crosse, and hung on the tree, that hee might release the sinne of the worlde. *Ambrose.* [b] *Quare maledictum dicatur Apostolus te docet dicens, quia scriptum est: maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno. Hoc est qui in carne sua nostram carnem, in suo corpore nostras infirmitates, & nostra maledicta suscepit, vt cruci figeret.* Why Christ is called a curse, the Apostle teacheth thee, when hee sayth, because it is written; accursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree, that is, which in his flesh bare our flesh, AND IN HIS BODIE TOOKE OVR INFIRMITIES, AND OVR CVRSES, that he might fasten them to his Crosse. *Hierom.* [c] It ought to trouble no man that Christ was made a curse for vs; because God, who is saide to make him a curse, did also make him sinne for vs, though he knew no sinne; yea, being life he died, and being the wisedome of God, he is called foolishnes: but he died, that we might liue; he was made foolishnes that we should be made wisdome; hee hung on the tree, that being fastened to the tree, hee might wipe out the sin, which we had cõmitted in ỹ tree of the knowledge of good and euil. *Oecumenius.* [d] We were vnder the curse, because wee had not kept the lawe; Christ was free from that because he had fulfilled the law; and yet hee suffered a curse not due to him, when he was hanged on the tree, that he might dissolue the curse pronounced against vs.

[y] *Ibidem.*

[z] *Theodoret. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galat.*

[a] *Cyril. de recta fide ad reginas. lib. 1.*

[b] *Ambros. epist. lib. 5. oration. in Auxentium de basilicis tradendis.*

[c] *Hierom. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galat.*

[d] *Oecumenius in cap. 3. epist. ad Galatas.*

Other

Other expositions if anie man seeke, hee shall find euen in the learned and ancient writers. [c] *Non maledictum, vel peccatum factum, est* (verbum) *sed cum iniquis reputatus est iustus existens, vt aboleat peccatum: & appellatus est maledictus, qui benedixit creaturam, vt soluat nostrum maledictum, & liberet à pœnâ credentes in ipsum. Igitur non est factus secundum veritatem maledictum & peccatum, appellatus autem illorum nominibus, vt aboleat maledictum & peccatum.* Christ was not made indeede a curse, or sinne (saith *Cyrill*) but hee was reputed amongst the wicked, beeing iust, that hee might put awaie sinne; and he who did blesse the creature, was called a curse, that he might dissolue our curse, and free from vengeance such as beleeued in him. Therefore he was not in truth made a curse and sin; but he was called by those names, that he might abolish both the curse and sinne. Christ was no more a curse, then hee was sinne; who indeede, and with God was neither; but with men he was reputed both wicked and accursed, by reason God suffered him to endure that vilde and shamefull kinde of death, which hee did to saue vs from the curse of sinne. Epiphanius saith he was A CVRSE VNTO THE CVRSE, that is, a dissoluer and finisher of the curse. [f] *Ignorat omnino miserille, quod neq; Christus maledictio factus sit; absit: sed maledictionem, quæ propter peccata nostra fuit, abstulit seipsum cruci dedens; & factus est mors morti propter peccata nostra, &* MALEDICTIO MALEDICTIONI. *Quapropter non est Christus maledictum, sed maledicti solutio; benedictio autem omnibus verè in ipsum credentibus.* That wretch (*Marcion*) is vtterly ignorant, that Christ was not accursed; God forbid: but he tooke away the curse that lay on our sinnes, in yeelding himselfe to the crosse, and was made death vnto death for our sinnes, and A CVRSE VNTO THE CVRSE. Wherefore Christ was NOT A CVRSE, but THE DISSOLVER OF THE CVRSE, and A BLESSING to all that trulie beleeue in him.

[c] *Cyril. defens. in Anathematis. tuum primum.*

[f] *Epiphanius contra Marcionitas hæres. 42.*

These, though they diuerslie applie the Apostles speach,

Factus

Factus pro nobis maledictum, Christ was made a curse for vs, some to the toleration of death, some to the opinion of men, and some to the depulsion of the curse from vs; yet in this they all agrée, that by giuing his bodie to die on the Crosse, Christ receiued, sustained, and abolished the curse due to vs for transgressing the law of God. And to iustifie their assertion they haue not onelie the plaine text of [g] Paule and [g] Moses, Cursed is he that hangeth on the tree; but the manifest words of Peter, [h] He bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree. To proue the death which Christ suffered to be a cursed kinde of death, the place of Moses is verie pregnant; to proue the person to bee accursed in soule, it hath neither cause, nor truth. For innocents maie suffer that wrong to bee hanged on trées; and shall they then be accursed in soule? And be they malefactors, they may repent as did the theefe on the crosse; and shall they notwithstanding their repentance bee accursed? Shall we close both penitent and innocent within the true curse of the soule, rather then we will suffer Pauls words to be referred to the death of the bodie? For he saith, Cursed is EVERIE ONE that hangeth on the tree; excusing none; and if anie might bee excepted out of the generall rule, Christ Iesus most of all. But euerie one that hangeth on the tree, hath a cursed kinde of death, though a blessed soule. Paule therefore expresselie teacheth, that Christ subiected himselfe to a cursed kind of death; and in so dying, he deliuered vs from the curse of the Lawe. [i] *Ex parte quippe mortali pependit in ligno, mortalitas autem vnde sit, notum est credentibus. Ex pœna quippe est, & maledictio peccati primi hominis, quam Dominus suscepit, & peccata nostra pertulit in corpore suo super lignum.* That part (sayth Austen) which was mortall (in Christ) hung on the Crosse; and whence mortalitie came the faythfull knowe. It came from the punishment of sinne, and is the malediction of the sinne of the first man; which the Lorde tooke vnto him and bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree. Yea when

These three wayes Christ is said to be accursed for vs.

[g] Galat. 3. Deut. 21.

[h] 1. Peter. 2.

[i] *Augustin. in expositione epist. ad Galat.*

Christ tooke the curse, hee tooke the sinne of the olde man into his flesh, and fastened it together with his flesh vnto the Crosse. [k] *Quid pependit in ligno, nisi peccatum veteris hominis, quod Dominus pro nobis in ipsa carnis mortalitate suscepit? Vnde nec erubuit nec timuit Apostolus dicere, peccatum eum fecisse pro nobis; addens vt de peccato condemnaret peccatum. Non enim & vetus homo noster simul crucifigeretur, sicut Apostolus alibi dicit, nisi in illa morte Domini, peccati nostri figura penderet.* What hung on the tree but the sinne of the olde man, which (sinne) the Lorde tooke vpon him for vs in the verie mortalitie of his flesh? Wherefore the Apostle was neither ashamed, nor afraied to say, that (God) made him sinne for vs, that by sinne he might condemne sin. For our olde man could not be crucified together with Christ, as the Apostle elsewhere writeth, except the figure of our sinne did hang on the Crosse in that death which the Lord died. And if Peters words be true, (which can not be false) Christ bare our sinnes, that is, the malediction and punishment of our sinnes, in his body on the tree, and thereby saued vs from the eternall maledication, which is, Go you cursed into euerlasting fire.

[k] *Ibidem.*

My resolution then is, which I hope will bee receyued, because it is the Apostles: [l] WE ARE DEAD TO THE LAVV BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST, that we should be to another, euen to him that is raised from the dead. We are quit from the feare, from the yoke, from the curse, from the vengeance of the law; in one word, WE ARE DEAD to the lawe; which hath no more chalenge to vs nowe, then a man hath to his wife that is long since dead. And if you aske when, and how we became dead to the lawe, Saint Paul answereth; BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST, when hee suffered on the Crosse for our sinnes. And as [m] he that is dead is freed from sinne; so we dying in, and with the bodie of Christ, are [n] LOOSED FROM THE LAVVE OF SINNE, AND DEATH; Sinne being condemned, and death conque-

[l] Rom. 7. We are dead to the law in the bodie of Christ.

[m] Rom. 6.

[n] Rom. 8.

red

red in the flesh of Christ, VVHICH IS OVR FLESH, not onelie because it was taken of vs, but also for that it is vnited vnto vs, as the heade to the members; and communicateth with vs both in life and death, as appeareth by that we died and rose againe in him; and to this daie he suffereth in vs, then which no coniunction can be surer, or neerer. Since then the corruption of our flesh, the guilt of our sinne, the curse of the lawe, the sting of death were all closed and crucified in the bodie of Christ on the Crosse, and his death hath discharged vs from their dominion; fullie doth the Apostle saie of Christ, that hee did [o] partake with flesh, and bloud, that through death hee might destroy him that had power of death, euen the diuell. For in that wee bee freed from the curse of the lawe, which brought and bound sinners by death to hell: the chaynes of darkenesse are broken, and Satans force wholie frustrate; and he himselfe nowe left to beholde the ruine of his kingdome, to grieue at the spoyle of his goodes, and to feare the vengeance prouided for him, howsoeuer for a season hee bee suffered to pursue the members of Christ here on earth, to his owne shame, and their greater comfort, in trying the mightie power and steadfast fauour of God for their perpetuall defence, and eternall recompence. So that in all thinges [p] wee are more then conquerours through him that loued vs, [q] and gaue himselfe for vs, [r] who will tread downe Satan vnder our feete, [s] that God may bee all in all. Verie mightie then is the power of Christes death, by whose BLOVD the Saintes [t] OVERCOME the greate Dragon, that olde Serpent called the Diuell; and his ouerthrow prooueth all the enemies of mans saluation to bee vanquished, and impediments removed; since he was the first perswader and procurer, and is the Prince and ruler of them all.

[o] Hebr. 2.

[p] Rom. 8.
[q] Galat. 2.
[r] Rom. 16.
[s] 1. Cor. 15.

[t] Reuel. 12.

The bodilie death of christ doth more

We haue seene the power of Christs death in subduing sin and Satan, as likewise in ending & abolishing the curse

expresse Gods mercies and Christs merits, then if the paines of hell were ioyned with it.

of the lawe, which obliged man for his vncleannesse and vnrighteousnesse to euerlasting condemnation; and find that hee, which bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, did in that mortall part which hee tooke of vs, crucifie as well the flesh, and sinne of man, as the curse and death, that raigned ouer man: and so much hee performed in the bodie of his flesh through death, by which hee reconciled vs vnto God, to make vs holie and blamelesse in his sight: let vs nowe see whether the death of the spirite, and the curse of the soule will anie thing helpe the woorke of our redemption, or whether the death of Christes bodie, doe not more fullie demonstrate the mercies of God, and merits of Christ, then if the paines of hell had beene ioyned with it. And where some men thinke it woulde much commende the TRVTH, POVVER, and IVSTICE of God, and more amplie declare the OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE, and LOVE of Christ, if hee refused not the verie torments of hell for our sakes, shunning no part of the burthen that pressed vs, I must confesse I am rather of a contrarie minde; that the bodilie death of Christ on the crosse doth more plainlie expresse the vertues of God, and Christ his sonne, then if the terror and horror of hell were therewith coupled.

1 And first for the TRVTH of god, his threatning Adam in this wise, "Thou shalt die the death, or thou shalt certainely die, was truelie performed in the bodie of Christ; in the soule of Christ it could not without sinne or damnation; neither of which with anie truth can be ascribed vnto Christ. That the mouth of God lied, or the soule of Christ died, is a choise so hard, that I wish all men that haue anie care of Christian religion to refraine either. Next, touching the POVVER of God; the weaker the instrument which God vseth to ouerthrowe his enemies, the greater is both his glory and their shame. Then, for flesh which was the feeblest part of Christ, after it was deade, and voide of all hope in shew, to rise a-

a Gen. 2.

As namely the truth of God

2 The power God.

againe

gaine into a blessed and heauenlie life, and to foile both death and Satan by recouering it selfe into the full possession, and all his members into the ioyfull expectation of euerlasting glorie, was farre a mightier conquest, then for his soule with much adoe at length to escape, and resist the assaultes of hell. From the depth of hell here on earth manie sinnefull soules haue by grace struggeled, and cléered themselues; from the graue neuer rose none into an immortall, & incorruptible life, before the flesh of Christ. Déeper in desperation, and al other temptations of hel haue others been, that yet were saued, then anie man dare affirme of Christ: déeper in death without corruption, then the bodie of Christ, neuer was, nor euer shall be anie of the sonnes of men. It was therefore an harder thing for the bodie of Christ, past all sense, to rise from death, to immortalitie, then for his soule voide of sinne, and full of grace to repell the force of Satan; and yet to repell it, sheweth greater power then to suffer it; to conquere it, sheweth greatest of all.

[But to beare the burden of Gods wrath due to our sinnes, and to frée vs from it, néeded greater strength, (they will saie) then Christes flesh could haue.] To support and auert Gods iust indignation from vs, the humane bodie or soule of Christ of themselues were not able; but the DIGNITIE and VNITIE of his person must be placed in the gap to quench the flame of Gods iust vengeãce against our sinnes, which was euerlasting destruction both of bodie and soule; yet for so much as the sincerity and sanctitie of Christes soule, personallie ioyned, quickened, and blessed with the perpetual vnion, communion, and fruition of his deitie, could feele no want of grace, no lacke of spirit, no losse of fauour with God (in which thinges consist the inwarde death, and curse of the soule:) the wrath of God was executed on the flesh of his sonne, which hee toke of purpose from Adam, that therein he might beare the sinne, and curse of Adam; and so by his death might satisfie the sentence, and pacifie the displeasure of

To auert Gods wrath from vs, the dignity of Christs person was necessary.

God against our vnrighteousnesse.

3. The iustice of God.

And this is more agreeable to Gods iustice, then if Christs soule had suffered the death and curse of the soule. For to take life from the soule, must be Gods proper and peculiar action. No creature can giue the grace or spirit of God to the soule of man, which is the life of the soule, but onelie God. Therefore no creature can take it from the soule, but God alone that GIVETH it, must TAKE IT AVVAY. Since then Christ might suffer nothing iustlie, but as the [z] iust for the vniust, that is willinglie, and vniustlie; his death must come by the handes of the wicked, who might wrongfullie take his life from him, but not touch his soule; and not by the immediate hande of GOD, who will doe no wrong, and can kill the soule. [y] I haue sinned, saith Iudas, in betraying the INNOCENT bloud. [z] You denied the HOLIE AND IVST, and killed the Lorde of life, saith Peter to the Iewes, warning them howe great a sinne they had committed in putting Christ to death. If hee were an INNOCENT, and deserued no punishment; if hee were HOLIE and IVST, and could not bee persecuted or put to death without haynous impietie and iniurie, wee may doe well to remember that the death of his soule had beene a farre greater wrong, then the death of his bodie was. And therefore if the iustice of God would not farther interpose it selfe in killing his bodie, then by deliuering him into the handes of the wicked, permitting them to shed his blond, which hee would accept for the sinnes of the worlde; much lesse would God with his owne mouth accurse; or with his owne hande slea the soule of his sonne, whome hee sent to restore and quicken those that were accursed, and dead in their sinnes. Againe, corporallie or temporallie God punisheth one for anothers fault, bicause he can recompence them eternally, that thereby repent and turne from their sinnes; but eternally or spiritually he punisheth no man, but for his owne vncleannes, either naturally sticking in him, or voluntarily committed by him.

z 1. Pet. 3

y Matth. 27
z Acts. 3.

The death of Christs soule could neither proceed from God, nor be acceptable vnto God.

him. Christ then beeing free from all sinne, might not suffer the inwarde or euerlasting death of the soule, but corporall and temporall reproch, and paine, which God might and did recompence with eternall ioye, and glorie. Thirdlie that [a] soule which sinneth, that soule shall die. This is the setled rule of Gods iustice; and therefore Christs soule which sinned not, could by no iustice die the death of the soule. To laie down his life for vs was loue and thankes with God: but willinglie to separate himselfe from God for vs, was no waie to reconcile God to vs, or to bring vs to God. He must therefore cleaue fast to God in soule, whose death shall bee pretious in Gods sight, as was Christs. If the soule bee severed from God, the death of the bodie is detestable in his eies, as beeing the wages of sinne; and therefore no more acceptable to GOD then sinne it selfe, but where the soule, hating the infection of sinne, and loathing the infirmitie of the flesh, resigneth it vnto death for Gods glorie, and the good of others. And in this respect the death of the bodie maie bee a sacrifice vnto God, but not except the soule doe liue, and cleaue to God, without separation. Then hatefull to GOD was the death of Christ, if his soule were first hated or accursed; if that were beloued and blessed of God, it coulde not choose but liue; for God is not the [b] God of the deade, but of the liuing. So that the death of Christes bodie on the Crosse, was by no iustice an acceptable sacrifice vnto God, if his soule were first deade. But his death was so pretious in Gods sight, that in [c] the bodie of his flesh through death, he reconciled vs vnto God: his soule was therefore aliue and in fauour with God, yea so abundantly blessed, and highly accepted, for the holines, humilitie, and obedience therof, that God was pacified, and pleased, and we all sanctified with THE OBLATION OF THE BODY of Iesus on the altar of the crosse.

[a] Ezechiel. 18

[b] Matth. 22.

[c] Colos. 1.

Lastlie, the flesh of Christ by Gods iustice must bee as able to purge vs from sinne, as Adams was to poyson vs;

Christes flesh must be able to quicken vs, as *Adams* flesh was to kill vs.

vs with sinne. But the flesh of Adam infected all his posteritie with sinne, and death; ergo the flesh of Christ must haue as much force, to cleanse and quicken the faithfull both in this life, and the next. Of this iustice Paul speaketh, when he saith, since by man came death, by man must come the resurrection
[d] 1. Corinth. 15 of the dead: For as in *Adam* all die, euen so in Christ shal al be made aliue. The first Adam WAS THE FIGVRE of the second Adam, that where [e] sinne abounded, there grace might abound much more. [e] As then by one mans disobedience manie were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many bee made righteous. The obedience of Christ which here Paule mentioneth, is his [f] obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse; and the [g] righteousnesse of the faithfull is the forgiuenes of their sinnes, [h] through the redemption that is in Christ Iesus. I will not here dispute whether the soule be created, and infunded; or else traduced from Adam, as well as the flesh: I meane not with curious or superfluous questions to busie mens heades; that which the scriptures deliuer touching the deriuation of sinne and death from our first parents, I may safelie teach, and you must necessarily beleeue.

[e] Rom. 5.

[f] Philip. 2 Rom. 3. verse [g] 25, & [h] 24.

[i] That we were [i] fashioned in iniquitie, and conceaued in sinne, the words of Dauid doe exactlie witnesse, and no maruaile. For [k] who can make that to bee cleane, which commeth from the vncleane? yea sinne cleaueth so fast vnto our flesh, that when the [l] eies of our heart are lightened, and the [m] spirit of our minde is renued, so that the [n] inwarde man delighteth in the law of God; EVEN THEN haue we an [o] other law in our members rebelling against the lawe of our minde, and leading vs captiue vnto the lawe of sinne; the [p] one so contrarie to the other, that we cannot doe the things which we would; by reason the affection or [q] liking of the flesh cannot be subiect to the lawe of God. This fight betwixt the flesh and the spirit is so durable, that it cannot bee dissolued but onelie by death. Though [r] Christ bee in vs, and the spirit liue for righteousnesse sake; yet [s] sinne so dwelleth in vs, (that is) in our [t] mortall bodies,

[i] Psal. 51.

[k] Iob. 14.

[l] Ephes. 1.
[m] Ephes. 4.
[n] Rom. 7.
[o] Rom. 7

[p] Galat. 5
[q] Rom. 8

φρόνημα.

[r] Rom. 1
[s] Rom. 7
[t] Rom. 6

dies, that whiles we liue, [u] in minde we serue the law of God, but in our flesh the lawe of sinne. From Adams flesh wee deriue this infection of sinne, that sticketh so fast vnto vs after we are regenerate, and new borne againe of water and the holie ghost, and this is the roote and nurse of all sinne, and the cause of death to al men. [x] If Christ be in you, the bodie is dead because of sinne. From Christes flesh then we must receiue the purgation of sinne both inherent in vs, and committed by vs; or else Adams flesh is stronger to wound vs, then Christs is to heale vs; which is repugnant to the iustice of God; by which the grace of God must bee farre mightier vnto saluation in the bodie of Christ, then the force of sinne was vnto condemnation in the bodie of Adam; vnlesse wee make sinne of more power to kill, then God is to quicken; which is to exalt the diuell aboue God, and his sonne. For [y] God was in Christ, reconciling the worlde to himselfe; by whose bloud the [z] partition wal is broken down, and hatred abrogated [z] through his flesh; that wee might bee reconciled vnto God in one bodie by his crosse.

[u] Rom. 7.

[x] Rom. 8.

[y] 2. Corinth. 5.

[z] Ephes. 2.

[But the death of the bodie, they will saie, hath no proportion to the death of the soule; and therefore the one cannot in iustice excuse the other.] There is farre greater distance betwixt the sonne of God, and the sonnes of men, then betwixt the bodies and soules of men. These differ as creatures, and both inferiour vnto the angels; but there is the excellencie of the Creator aboue the creature, which is simplie infinite. What soeuer therefore it pleased the sonne of God to suffer for our sakes, it was most sufficient for our redemption; howbeit to demonstrate his loue, hee would be partaker of our infirmitie and mortality; least we should loath our condition, or grudge at the chastisement of our sinnes; but if we set aside the dignitie and vnitie of his person, then is no waie the death of the soule or the paines of hell, which they imagine Christ suffered, proportionable in exact iustice to the true wages of our sinne. For what equiualence hath one soule with

why the death of Christs bodie doth countervaile all the bodies & soules of men.

all the soules of the Saints? or one daies anguish which Christ felt in soule, as they suppose, with that euerlasting fire which wee shoulde haue suffered in bodie and soule for euer? set aside I saie the respect of the person, which suffered for vs; and in the rest they shall neuer bee able to proone anie proportion of iustice diuine or humane. But as I haue fullie shewed before, the worthinesse of the person is the surest ground of our saluation, and chiefest weight of our redemption; and therefore his death is of infinite force, and his bloude of infinite price, euen as his person is. For since all mens actions are and ought to bee esteemed according to the giftes which they haue, and place which they holde from GOD; whie shoulde not the death and bloud of Christ bee valued in Gods iustice according to the height and worth of his person? and if in all thinges wee receaue honour not due to our flesh wherein wee partake with Beastes, but fitte for the soule wherein wee communicate with Angels; howe seemeth it strange in our eyes, that the dooinges and sufferinges of Christ Iesus, which hath the natures of God and man in a surer and nearer coniunction, then wee haue our soules and bodies, shoulde not bee reckned and accepted in GOD S iustice, as the ACTIONS and PASSIONS of HIS OVVNE SONNE; and haue their value from the diuiner and worthier parte of Christ?

The bodilie death of christ doth more cõmend the merits of Christ then if ỹ paines of hell were ioyned with it.

As the death of Christes flesh ONELIE doth more expresse the TRVETH, POVVER, AND IVSTICE of God, then if the death of the soule had beene ioyned with it; so the same setteth forth Christes merites, namelie his OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE, and LOVE in farre better sorte, then if wee adde vntõ it the death of the spirite, which is the reward of all the reprobate and damned. For what a man vnwillinglie suffereth, that sheweth neyther obedience, nor patience. Obedience hath readinesse; and patience, if it bee perfect, hath gladnesse; both haue willingnesse.

willingneſse. If then wee bee forced against our willes to endure that which wee wouldе gladlie auoide, it is violence; it is neither obedience nor patience; and consequentlie it hath neither merite nor thankes with GOD. The death then of the soule, which is a separation from the fauour and grace of God, did Christ suffer it willinglie, or vnwillinglie? if willinglie; there coulde bee no greater neglect of GOD, then to bee willing to bee separated from God. It were disobedience and insolence in the highest degree, to be glad and forwarde to forsake God, or to bee forsaken of him. Christ therefore must not bee willing to suffer the death of the soule, least wee wrap him within the compasse of contemning and reiecting the grace and fauour of GOD, which are sinnefull enormities. Was hee vnwilling to suffer it? then coulde hee bee neither obedient, nor patient in suffering it. All vertue is voluntarie, compulsion hath no merite. [a] God loueth a cheerefull giuer, and sufferer. Hee that murmureth, in heart rebelleth, though hee holde still his tongue. So likewise I must aske, if Christ suffered the death of the soule, did hee suffer it iustlie or vniustlie? if vniustlie: God could not be the sole and immediate agent in imposing it; and besides God, no creature canne bereaue the soule of life. Did hee suffer it iustlie? then must hee be voide of all vertue; for nothing but sinne deserueth the death of the soule. Obedience and patience, merite thankes with God; and cannot wante the blessing of God: where the death of the soule is the greatest curse, that God inflicteth heere on earth.

In the death of the soule there could neither be obedience nor patience.

[a] 2. Corinth. 9.

And where they thinke it wouldе greatelie increase the loue of Christ towardes vs if hee vouchsafed to tаste the death of the soule for our sakes; I replie, that suppositiоn wouldе make Christ a sinner, if not a lyar; which God forbid shoulde once enter our thoughtes. For first Christ saieth, [b] Greater loue then this hath no man,

It is no loue to renounce God for mans sake.

[b] Iohn. 15

c Rom. 5

that one should laie downe his life for his friendes. But c God commendeth his loue towards vs; that whiles we were yet sinners Christ died for vs. If it be loue for a man to loose his soule for his friend, then is there found a greater loue, then Christ euer knew: for he saith, there is no greater loue then for a man to laie downe his life. And the Apostle applying it to Christ saith, The height of Gods loue was this, that Christ died for sinners: that is, for his enemies, not for his friendes; sinne beeing enmitie to God, and sinners enemies to the holinesse of his will, and glory of his kingdome. This loue of Christ by which he died for vs, we reiect as little worth, vnlesse hee endured the losse of Gods fauour for vs; which I take to bee sinne and not loue. For loue is due first and aboue all to God, then to men; this order of loue if we breake, it is no charitie, it is iniquitie. What doe all wicked ones, but preferre the loue of themselues, or of others, before the loue of God? to loue men so well, that wee ware willing to forsake the fauour and fellowship of God, is transgression against God, and not compassion towards men; and therefore wee maie not bring the sonne of God within the lists of this loue, no not for an houre; by reason the loue of God afore all others may not faile in the hart of Christ, not for a moment, bee it neuer so short.

Christs loue towards vs in dying for vs.

For our loue then he tooke flesh, when he was God; which was infinite humilitie; and gaue his life for his enemies, which was exceeding charitie; and in the course thereof referred himself wholie to the will and pleasure of God, which was exact obedience; willinglie, but wrongfullie suffering, what soeuer the malice of Satan, and rage of the wicked contriued against him: the wise and gracious counsell of God so turning the mischiefe of the diuell and his members to the generall good of mankind, that Christes innocent and righteous bloud, being furiously and vniustly shed by the hands of his enemies, became the true sacrifice for sinne, and the full

price

price of mans redemption. Farther then this, if we will force the sonne of God with our fancies, as namelie to the death or curse of the soule, wee doe not onelie diminish the strength of his loue towardes God, but we debase the price of his bloud; and make it rather detestable, then acceptable in Gods sight. For nothing can please God, but that which is RIGHTEOVS, INNOCENT, HOLIE, & VNDEFILED. And in a dead or cursed soule what place leaue we for these giftes and graces of the holie Ghost? Since then our high Priest must be [d] holie, harmelesse, vndefiled, and separate from sinners, before his sacrifice coulde bee accepted; the soule of Christ must necessarilie bee repleniſhed with all goodnesse, and embraced with all fauour, before the death of his bodie could be an [e] offering of a sweete sauour vnto God: and so the power of Christes death is no whitte encreased, but altogither weakened, if wee conioyne it with the death of the soule.

[d] Heb. 7.

[e] Ephes. 5.

The death of the soule then doth not encrease the obedience, patience, and loue of Christ towardes vs, but doth rather decrease and endanger all the vertues of our Sauiour. For if Christ suffered the death of the soule, which is Gods immediate action; since God will offer his owne sonne neither violence nor wrong, wee must confesse that Christ deserued the death of the soule, and admitted it as due vnto him; to which absurdities if wee come, wee leaue nothing sound in our saluation. Call we him iust that deserueth, or holie that desireth to be forsaken of God? I thinke not. Then all Christs sufferings must be INIVRIOVS, before hee can be IVST; and VOLVNTARIE, before they can be a SACRIFICE vnto God. Both which are witnessed by the worde of God, as likewise by the ancient fathers. THIS IS [f] THANKWORTHIE (saith Peter) if a man for conscience towards God endure grief, SVFFERING VVRONGFVLLY. For what praise is it, if when ye be BVFFETED for your FAVLTS, ye take it PATIENTLIE? But if, when ye doe well, ye suffer patientlie,

All Christs sufferings were INIVRIOVS in respect of the doers, and VOLVNTARIE in respect of himselfe.

[f] 1. Peter. 2.

this is acceptable vnto God. For hereunto are ye called: for so CHRIST SVFFERED FOR VS, leauing vs an example that we should follow his steppes. Christ therfore suffered as well VVRONGFVLLY AS PATIENTLY. Malefactors may be patient, but that is no merit with God. He must be both innocent and patient that will haue thanks from God. So was
[f] 1. Pet. 2. Christ. [g] He did no sin, and so was innocent; [g] when he was reuiled, he reuiled not againe: when he suffered, he threatned not, which proueth his patience. This verie testimonie, the there
[h] Luke 23. on the crosse giueth him. [h] We receiue punishment worthie of that we haue done; but this mā hath done nothing amisse. [i] *Quod*
[i] *August. de tempore, serm. 101.* *iustè debebat* Adam, *Christus iniustè mortem suscipiendo persolvit.* What *Adam* iustly owed (saith Austen) that Christ vniustlie paied by suffering death. [k] *Pergit ad passionem, vt pro debitoribus*
[k] *Idem de trinitate li. 13. ca. 14* *nobis quod ipse nō debebat, exsolueret.* Christ goeth to his passion
[l] *Ibid. cap. 16* to pay that for vs debtors, which hee did not owe. [l] *De humanitate susceptâ tantum beneficij collatum est hominibus, vt à dei sempiterno filio, eodemque hominis filio mors temporalis indebita redderetur, qua eos a sempiternâ morte debitâ liberaret. Peccata nostra Diabolus tenebat, & per illanos merito figebat in morte. Demisit ea ille, qui sua non habebat, & ab illo immeritó est perductus ad mortem: Tantum valuit sanguis ille, vt neminem Christo indutum in æterna morte debita detinere debuerit, qui Christum morte indebita vel ad tempus occidit.* By Christ taking mans nature, this benefite men get, that the eternall Sonne of God, and the same also the sonne of man, suffered a temporall death not due, to deliuer them from an euerlasting death due. The Diuell laide sure holde on our sinnes, and by them helde vs deseruedlie in death. Those hee remitted, that had no sinnes of his owne, and was without anie desert brought by the Diuell vnto death. But such was the force of Christes bloud, that the Diuell had no right to detaine anie man (that put on Christ) in eternall death due, for so much as hee slue Christ with death for the
[m] *Greg. moralium. li. 3. ca. 11.* time, which was no way due. [m] *Mediator noster puniri pro se*

ipse

ipso non debuit : quia nullum culpæ contagium pertulerat. Sed si ipse indebitam mortem non susciperet , nunquam nos à debita morte liberaret. Our Mediatour for himselfe ought not to bee punished, because hee neuer sinned. But if hee had not suffered a death not due , hee coulde neuer haue freed vs from the death that was due. If the temporall death of the bodie were not due to our Sauiour , much lesse was the death of the soule due vnto him. And if no death were due ; that which hee suffered was wrongfull. Then might God bee the permitter, directer, orderer, and accepter of Christes death on the Crosse ; but hee coulde not bee the immediate inflicter of it, because it was wrongfull and vndeserued : much lesse might GOD in iustice forsake his soule ; that with so great obedience, patience and innocencie humbled himselfe to the will of his heauenlie father.

That likewise hee suffered nothing agaynst his owne liking, his owne mouth testified when he said. [n] *Nemo tollit animam meam à me, sed pono eam à meipso.* No man taketh my life from mee, but I lay it downe of my selfe. And else where. [o] The sonne of God loued mee, and gaue himselfe for mee. [p] Loue your wiues as Christ loued the Church , and gaue himselfe for it. If it were loue, then was it no constraint, nor violence , that forced him thereto . If hee gaue himselfe for vs; it must needes bee voluntarie whatsoeuer hee suffered . [q] *Demonstrauit spiritus mediatoris quàm nulla pœna peccati vsque ad mortem carnis accesserit, quia non eam deseruit inuitus, sed* QVIA VOLVIT, QVANDO VOLVIT, QVOMODO VOLVIT . The spirite of the Mediator shewed that without anie punishment of sinne it came euen to the death of the flesh, which hee did not leaue agaynst his will , but BECAVSE HE VVOVLDE, VVHEN HE VVOVLDE, AND HOVVE HE VVOVLDE. *Et [r] natus , & passus , & mortuus est , nulla sua necessitate, sed voluntate, & potestate .* Christ was borne, and suffered and

[n] Iohn. 10.
[o] Galat. 2.
[p] Ephes. 5.
[q] *August. de trinitat. li. 4. ca. 13*
[r] *August. de fide contra Manichæos. cap. 36.*

and died, not for anie neceſſitie that vrged him, but of his owne will, and hauing it in his owne power. If Chriſt might ſuffer nothing but what hee woulde, and as hee would; the death of the ſoule hee did neuer ſuffer; for thereto hee coulde not be willing without ſinne, by reaſon it is a ſeparation from God, and a loſſe both of his heauenlie fauour, and holie ſpirite, from which Chriſt willinglie would neuer be excluded.

The recapitulation of ſmaner and merit of Chriſts death.

The ſumme is, ſince the TRVTH and IVSTICE of God might not releaſe the ſin of man, without fulfilling the ſentence of the Iudge, [f] THOV SHALT DIE THE DEATH, and that by man; for ſo much as man was the treſpaſſer: [g] God ſo loued the world, when none of the ſonnes of Adam was able to reſtore his owne ſoule, much leſſe to ranſome others; that hee ſent his owne ſonne to become man; and as by the dignitie and puritie of his perſon to counteruaile and ouerweigh the ſoules of all men; ſo by his paines and death on the Croſſe, to verifie and ſatisfie the iudgement of God pronounced againſt man, and to quit him from all danger following death. And to trie the obedience, ſhew the patience, and augment the merits of the Redeemer, the wiſedome of God decreed, that his ſonne in our ſubſtance ſhould violentlie and wrongfullie bee put to death euen by their handes, for whoſe ſakes he laid downe his life; that his loue might ſo much the more excéede in praying for his perſecutours, and dying for his tormentors. The ſhame and ſharpeneſſe of the croſſe, ſo iniuriouſlie impoſed on the holineſſe, and worthineſſe of Chriſtes perſon, and yet ſo obedientlie and patientlie endured by him, God ſo highlie eſteemed, and recompenced, that hee made his death the ranſome of all mankinde, and his bloud to bee the purgation and propitiation of our ſinnes: his obedience wyping awaie our diſobedience; his fauour quenching the diſpleaſure; his bleſſedneſſe altering the curſe; his death finiſhing the vengeance that was due to our iniquities. This is the manner and merit of Chriſts

[f] Genes.
[g] Iohn. 3.

ſuffering

suffering death on the crosse, to saue vs from the wrath of God, that was kindled against our transgressions. And since the scriptures mention none other meanes of our redemption but the DEATH and BLOVD of the SONNE of God, I hold them wisest, that leaue deuising any better or other help for our saluation then God himselfe hath reuealed. And as for the death of the soule, I take that to be the greatest hinderance that may be to the worke of our redemption, and to shake the verie foundation of our faith and hope in the crosse of Christ. Which least I should seeme to say, & no way to proue: let vs view the COMFORT of Christes crosse, and thereby se howe his soule was affected towardes God, euen whiles his bodie suffered that grieuous, and opprobrious death of the crosse.

I haue often mused what made men of great learning and iudgement otherwise, to swarue so much from the plain tenor of the scriptures; and to imagine in the soule of our sauiour, such doubt and feare of Gods fauour, such horrors and torments of hell, that they sticke not to match them with the paines of the damned; considering there is no manifest ground, nor euident proofe of so dangerous doctrine in the word of God: but contrariwise, when the scriptures describe Christ on the crosse, they propose his bodie martyred with al kinde of cruelties, but his soule cleauing to God, with all perfection of constancie. Read the xvi. and xxii. Psalme. who will, which purposelie treate of Christes passion; and tell mee whether there bee so much as a worde importing anie distrust of Gods fauour, or anie suspicion of the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ? [The first entrante of the xxii. Psalme, you will say is, "My God, my God, whie hast thou forsaken me?] This is that Helen, that hath bewitched the world; I meane the misconstruing of these words. Of which though I haue spoken before, as much as may content any man that is not fastned to his fancies, more then to the truth; yet let vs shortlie see whether the rest of the

The cõfort of Christs crosse taken out of the 22. Psalme.

"Psalm. 22.

Psalme admit their new found exposition, or no. It followeth in the same place. [x] Thou didst bring me out of my mothers wombe; thou gauest mee confidence at my mothers breasts. [y] On thee was I cast from my birth. THOV ART MY GOD FROM MY MOTHERS BELLIE. [z] Bee not farre from mee for trouble is neere, and there is none to helpe. [a] Bee not farre, O Lord my strength: hasten to helpe me. [b] I will declare thy name vnto my brethren, in the midst of the congregation, I will praise thee, [c] for HE HATH NOT DESPISED, nor abhorred the weakenesse, or baseneſſe of the poore: neither HATH HE HID HIS FACE FROM HIM; but when he called vnto him HE HEARD HIM. Is this the prayer of a man whose soule is forsaken of God? Did he doubt of Gods fauour, that with such confidence pronounced, Thou gauest me assurance at my mothers breasts, thou art my God from my mothers belly? Was he perswaded that god had refused and left him when as he saith, God hath not DESPISED ỹ weaknes of the poore: he hath not hid his face from him; when he called, God heard him? If these be flat contradictions to their imaginations, why wrest they the first verse to euert all the rest? Christ therfore in the beginning of the Psalm might well complain that god had for the time of his passion withheld his PROTECTION, or diminished his CONSOLATION; but in no wise that God had decreased his loue, or shut vp his fauor towards the humane soule of his sonne. Yea the next words are an explication of the former. Why hast thou forsaken me, [d] and art so farre from mine helpe? Not to helpe in trouble is to forsake, though God bee not angrie with the soules of such as suffer affliction. The very words agree, to GO FARRE OFF frō a man, is to FORSAKE HIM; so he that desireth God not to be far off, prayeth not to be forsaken; but rather to receiue helpe in time of need. Merilie S. Ambroses iudgement and reason doth satisfie me, what soeuer it doth others. [e] *Ille nunquam derelictus est à patre, cum quo pater semper erat. Sed secundum corpus, in quo traditus est passioni vox ista processit; quoniam derelinqui nobis*

[x] Vers. 9.
[y] 10
[z] 11
[a] 19
[b] 22
[c] 24
[d] Vers. 1.
[e] *Ambros. in Psal. 118. ser. 1.*

nobis videmur, quando sumus in periculis constituti. Christ was neuer forsaken of his Father, with whome the father alwayes was; but this complaint came from his bodie, which was left to suffer death, for so much as wee thinke our selues forsaken when wee are oppressed with anie troubles.

If the xxii. Psalme content vs not, let vs examine the sixteenth, and there marke what the holie Ghost doth attribute to the soule of Christ in the middes of his sufferings on the Crosse; and then iudge which opinion draweth nearest to the truth of the sacred Scriptures. [f] I haue alwayes SET the Lord BEFORE ME; for hee IS AT MY RIGHT HAND THAT I SHOVLD NOT BE SHAKEN, therefore my heart is glad, & my tongue reioiceth; my flesh also shall REST IN HOPE. Because thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holie one to see corruptiō. Thou wilt SHEVV ME THE VVAY OF LIFE; THE FVLNES OF IOY IS IN THY PRESENCE, and delectation at thy right hand for euer. Three plentifull and wonderfull graces of the holie Ghost are here described in our Sauiour, as he hung on the crosse, in the middest of his miseries; abundance of FAITH, assurance of HOPE, persistance in IOY. The ground of our faith is the truth of Gods word, sealed in our hearts, by the working of his spirite. The faith of Christ had a farre stronger foundation, and clearer reuelation, then ours can possible haue. He was hoped for by the Patriarks, searched after by the Prophets, he was the end of all the lawe, and truth of all the former testament. He was serued by Angels, acknowledged by starres, seas, windes, beasts, fishes, and trees; hee was obeyed by diseases, death and diuels, the holie Ghost visible descended on him when hee was baptised, the father by thunder from heauen often proclaimed him to be his welbeloued sonne, and commaunded all men to heare him; he knewe the thoughts of mens hearts, yea the secrets of heauen; he was transfigured in the Mount, and tasted of that heauenlie glorie prepared for him. The confessing him

The same out of the 16. Psalme.

[f] Psal. 16.

The ground of Christs faith.

to bee the sonne of God, openeth heauen, preuaileth agaynst hell, supporteth his Church, and obtaineth blessednes. This he heard with his eares, sawe with his eyes, and wrought with his hands: yea, he spake with his mouth, & knew in his heart that God had sanctified him, and sent him to saue the world. Is this now a meane diuine; was it possible that Christ Iesus after all this intelligence, euidence and experience both of his diuine person who he was, and of his fathers loue and purpose, how setled, determined, and euerlasting it was, should feare or doubt, least he should be forsaken, or want the fauor and help of god in those afflictions, which he willingly suffered for our saluetie: For vs to distrust or doubt Gods promise cõfirmed by his word, & perswaded to our spirits by his spirit, is diffidẽce and incredulitie. What hainous and horrible sinne then were it for the soule of Christ, after so cleare perspicuitie, so full certaintie, so firme stabilitie of Gods COVNSEL and PROMISE, OATH & PERFORMANCE, that in him all nations of the earth should be blessed: to haue so much as a feare, doubt, or thought, that God would faile him, or forsake him? Let me fatherlie aduise, and brotherly intreate you all in the bowels of Christ Iesus, that you take good heed how you venter on any such doctrine. Ioine rather with S. Peter, and stedfastlie beleeue, that Dauid spake concerning Christ, when he said: I saw the Lord alwayes before me, for he is at my right hande, that I should not be mooued. IF ALVVAIES, then was there no intermission: If BEFORE HIS FACE, then was there no obscuration: If AT HIS RIGHT HAND, then God was neuer absent: If hee COVLD NOT BE MOOVED, then could he not be forsaken.

[But Christ himselfe sayth, he was forsaken?] hee doth not say he was forsaken, either in soule, or else of Gods fauour and grace, as some in our dayes woulde faine make him speake: but he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And his words stand true, if any kind of derelicton be confessed. [h] *Quasi quædam ibi derelictio fuit, vbi nulla fuit in tanta*

[1] Act. 2.

[h] *Bernard. de verbis Esaiæ serm. 5.*

tanta necessitate virtutis exhibitio, nulla maiestatis ostensio. There was on the crosse a kind of forsaking, in as much as there was in so great necessitie, no declaring of his power; no shewing of his maiestie. Diuers other kindes of forsaking may bee verie well allowed and beleeued in the sufferings of our Sauiour; but that he should be destitute of FAITH, HOPE, LOVE, OR IOY, OR forsaken of Gods FAVOVR, GRACE, OR SPIRIT, that is so dangerous to the office, and pernicious to the person of Christ, that it may in no wise bee admitted. [i] Whatsoeuer is not of faith is sinne. Then howe much we decrease faith in Christ, so much wee increase sinne in Christ. VVAVERING, STICKING, DOVBTING are all rebatements of faith, and degrees of diffidence, and greater sinnes in Christ, then in any other man, because of his infallible REVELATION FROM GOD, vnspeakeable FRVITION OF GOD, and inseparable COMMVNION VVITH GOD. [k] *Modicæ fidei, quare dubitasti?* O thou of LITTLE faith, why diddest thou DOVBT? saith Christ to Peter. Then doubting is the diminishing of faith. [l] Abraham (saieth the Apostle) did not DOVBT of the promise of God THROVGH VNBELIEFE; but was strengthned in faith, and gaue the glorie vnto God; being fullie assured; that hee which had promised, was able to performe it. Then doubting, by the expresse rule of the holie ghost is VNBELIEFE, and a DISHONOR VNTO GOD, as if he were not able to make good his promise. So that wee must in spite of our heartes either CLEERE CHRIST FROM DOVBTING, OR CHARGE HIM VVITH VNBELEEVING, and DISHONOVRING GOD. [m] If any man lacke wisedome (saith Iames) let him aske of God; and it shall be giuen him: but let him aske in faith, and not doubt, (or dispute with himselfe;) for he that doubteth, is like a waue of the Sea, tost with the winde; neither let that man thinke he shall receaue any thing of the Lorde. Doubtfulnesse differeth from incredulitie in this, that the incredulous as yet beleeueth not: the doubtfull wauereth betwixt faith and infidelitie; as

[i] Rom. 14

Doubting of Gods fauour is sinne in Christ

[k] Matth. 14.

[l] Rom. 4.

[m] Iacob. 1.

a waue of the sea doth, that is toſt with the winde, enclining ſometimes one way, ſometimes another way. But this man for his inconſtancie, ſhall obtaine nothing at Gods handes, whoſe truth when we but DOVBT wee DENIE; and whoſe promiſe when wee DISPVTE wee DISBELEEVE. The ſoule of Chriſt then maie not bee touched VVITH ANIE DOVBT, much leſſe diſtruſt of Gods fauour and loue towards him, and to imagine or affirme ſo much of Chriſtes perſon, is to drawe him within the compaſſe of inconſtancie, infidelitie, and Apoſtaſie from GOD; which I aſſure my ſelfe, no Chriſtian Diuine will attempt or endure.

Feare is more intolerable in Chriſt then doubting.

If the humane ſoule of Chriſt muſt bee ſo ſetled and reſolued in faith, that it might not doubt of Gods fauour; much leſſe might it be perplexed or amazed with the feare, terror, or ſenſe of Gods diſpleaſure againſt himſelfe, as our ſurety. For to that ende did it pleaſe the ſonne of God to take our nature into the vnitie of his perſon, that it ſhoulde vtterlie bee impoſſible for ſinne, death, or hell to ſeparate vs from him, or him from God. Whereof becauſe hee was infalliblie aſſured, hee muſt nedes be throughlie perſwaded; and in that perfect perſwaſion, knowledge, and aſſurance of Gods euerlaſting purpoſe, fauour, and loue towardes him; that he ſhould be the Sauiour of the world, if doubting bee not tolerable, howe inexcuſeable is feare and terror, as if hee were forſaken of God? which could not bee, except God would breake his promiſe, and othe giuen to Abraham and Dauid, and falſifie his truth expreſſed with his own voice from heauen; yea, and reuerſe his eternall counſell and decree, forſpoken by the mouthes of ſo many Prophets, confirmed with ſo manie miracles, and executed and accompliſhed ſo euidentlie in the birth of our Sauiour. The ſoule of Chriſt muſt therefore bee farre from fearing or doubting, leaſt God woulde change his minde, recall his worde, fruſtrate his promiſe, and violate his oath; for theſe are blaſphemies againſt

God

God in the higest degrée; wee must rather receaue Saint Peters assertion out of Dauid, that Christ did [n] ALVVAIES see God on HIS RIGHT HANDE that hee shoulde NOT BEE MOOVED; And therefore his heart was gladde, and his tongue ioyfull: yea, wee must not onelie leaue him faith, but so perpetuall, constant, and strong, that nothing might shake it, or abate it. For if wee giue vnto men faith that shal withstand, and conquere al temptations, much more must we allow the Sauior of the world faith, as farre aboue ours, in validitie, stability, and certainty, as the rest of his vertues and graces exceede the measure of our gifts. As therefore in wisdome and holines, power and prudence, counsell and strength, righteousnesse and faithfulnesse, no creature might exceed the humane soule of Christ; so in patience and assurance, hope and loue, courage and confidence no earthlie wight might come nere him. For hee had the [o] fulnesse of Gods spirite, as much as the creature was capable of; we haue but a portion according to the [p] measure of the gifte of Christ. Since then [q] God did not giue him the spirit by measure, it is an euident absurditie, if not impietie, to diminish his faith with doubting, his loue with feare, his hope with horrour of reiection, alienation, or separation from GOD; but as constant faith STAGGERETH NOT, perfect loue FEARETH NOT, assured hope TREMBLETH NOT; so the faith, hope, and loue of Christ must not stumble at anie of these stones, much lesse make such a shipwracke of faith and hope, as if hee DID ALMOST PERSVVADE HIMSELFE that hee was DROVVNED, and PERISHED in the gulfe of perdition.

[n] Actes. 2.

[o] Iohn. 1.

[p] Ephes. 4

[q] Iohn. 3.

[But the vehemencie of paine (some thinke) might for the time wrest frō Christ the remembrāce of Gods eternal decree & promise, & so shake ỳ perswasion otherwise settled in his hart ỳ God had sworne he would not faile Dauid.] I had rather confesse mine ignorāce in not vnderstanding, then shew any

Christ was not amazed on the Crosse.

skill

skill in refelling this answere. It is true that a mightie feare may so affect a man for the time, that it shall hinder the sences from recouering themselues, and stop the faculties from informing one the other. But this must bee some suddaine obiect astonishing the heart; and so terrible that it suffereth vs not presentlie to gather our wits together, and to consider of it. But what is this to our purpose? was Christ in a traunce on the crosse? and so continued eighteen houres, from his entering into the garden after supper, to the ending of his life the next daie at three of the cloche after noone? and all this while so affrighted and amazed that hee could not remember he was the sonne of God, and sent to redeeme the world? his words and deedes at his apprehension, at his examination before the chiefe Priestes and Elders, at his condemnation by Pilate, at his crucifixion and expiration doe they make anie proofe, or giue any signe of a man in a maze? when hee boldelie professed himselfe before the high Priest [r] TO BE THE SONNE OF GOD; when he tolde Pilate as well the cause why [s] HE VVAS BORNE, as the place whence he had [t] POVVER OVER HIM; when hee warned the women of Ierusalem TO [u] VVEEPE FOR THEMSELVES and their children; when hee praied for his persecutors, as [x] NOT KNOVVING VVHAT THEY DID, and promised PARADISE to the penitent thiefe that hung by him; when he bequeathed the care of his [y] MOTHER to the fidelitie of his DISCIPLE, and [z] COMMENDED HIS SPIRIT into the handes of his father; was his memorie or vnderstanding taken from him by feare in anie of these actions? or doe we not rather see his death answerable to his life, that is full of constancie, clemencie, fidelitie and pietie? If anie be otherwise minded, God graunt they be not in a deepe traunce of selfe-liking: that will rather challenge Christes memorie, then suspect their owne fansie. Coulde he forget himselfe to be the sonne of God, that so often and openlie called God his FATHER? that in the heate of his agony

[r] Mark.14.
[s] Iohn.18
[t] Iohn.19
[u] Luke.23
[x] Luke.23.
[y] Iohn.19
[z] Luke.23

agony praying vsed none other stile, but [a] O MY FATHER? [a] Matth. 26
that in the counsell of the Scribes and Elders woulde not
conceale himselfe to be [b] THE SONNE OF GOD, no not to [b] Marke. 14
saue his life, but said [b] I AM the sonne of the blessed? that
dying committed his spirit to his [c] FATHERS HANDS? he [c] Luke 23.
remembred to call for drinke, that the [d] scripture might bee [d] Iohn. 19
fulfilled; and [d] knew that all things touching him were performed; and had he forgotten who he was, or why he came into
the world, euen [e] to saue that which was lost? [e] Matth. 18

And in all good sort to admonish them that are learned,
to looke a little better, before they resolue on so strange a con-
clusion in diuinitie; if wee put Christ in such a maze on the
crosse, that for feare he forgate his fathers counsell, purpose,
promise, voice, and oath; yea his own function, vnion and per-
son: what obedience or patience, what humility or charitie do
we leaue him, in suffering the death of the crosse? what vertue
find we, where remembrance faileth? or what merite is it for
a man to be amazed? how hangeth this with their owne po-
sition, that the sense and suffering of Gods wrath in the soule
of Christ is the chiefest and principallest part of our redempti-
on? is it so materiall for mans saluation, as they affirme,
and can it not be maintained but by taking from Christ both
iudgement and memorie? is this that great mysterie of de-
uotion, which true religion may not endure, except wee sup-
pose the sonne of God to be for feare besides himselfe? haue
they not spun a faire thread, to be so zealous for Christs suf-
fering the verie paines of hell, here on earth, and when all
is done their assertion cannot bee saued from impietie, but
by casting Christ into a fit of a Lethargie? for that God was
in deede angrie, and offended with his owne sonne, is odious
and enormous blasphemie. That Christ so conceaued, and
perswaded himselfe, or so dissembled, when there was no such
cause; chargeth the sonne of God not onelie with falsitie, but
with infidelitie. To decline both these mischiefes there is no
meane left, but to saie, that the verie force of paine made

The sufferings of Christ are no way meritorious, if he were in a trãce al the while he hung on the crosse.

Christ forget both his owne person, and his Fathers eternall counsell and loue towardes him; which is to flie one absurditie with an other. For though by this maze they excuse Christ from sinne, as being neither aduised, nor suffered by feare to be master of himselfe; yet by the same they exclude him from all the graces and vertues of his passion, on which our saluation is grounded; and leaue him as without merite, so without merite; since the faculties of the mind, ouerwhelmed and astonished with feare or paine, haue no full apprehension, much lesse iust deliberation, and least of all free election of good and euil. In which case if we suppose our Sauiour to haue bin during his suffering on the crosse we shew our selues to be void of all vnderstanding, in that we cleaue to our own fancies against the witnes both of nature & scripture. Read who list the maner of Christs praying, answering & suffering, before & at his death; & tel me wherin he shewed any defect of iudgment, or want of remembring: Peter saith, Christ [f] suffered for vs, leauing vs an example, that we should follow his steps. If he were stroken with feare besides himselfe, it is a bad example for vs to follow. But in deede he neither did, nor spake anie thing, no not in the midst of his paines, but verie aduisedlie, quietly, religiously, & obediently: such as might well beseeme the Sauiour of the world, humbled in our flesh, and chastised for our sinnes, but no way partner of our impatient and sinnefull affections.

[f] 1. Peter. 2.

Christ wauered not in his prairs in ỹ garden

[He wauered (some thinke) in his praiers; and corrected himselfe as ouershot, in that he asked at his fathers hands:] such holdfast they take of his wordes, that faine would haue his wittes amazed with their imagined fears and horrour of hell fire. But by their patience, their expositions must not looke to bee canonicall in the church of God. If they say anie thing well, wee take it with their prayse; if otherwise as men, they misse their marke, wee refuse it with their leaues. [g] God hath called vs vnto libertie, [h] not to be seruantes of men; and to serue erroneous constructions, is

[g] Galat. 5
[h] 1. Corinth. 7

worse

worse than to beare tyrannous exactions. Was Christ vnaduised in his praiers in the garden? and did hee reuoke that which suddainly slipt from him? All praier without faith is sin in Gods sight. What then was Christs praier, if it were directlie bent against the determined purpose, and reuealed will of God, but euident sinne? His thrise repeating [i] the selfe same words with good distance of time betweene, and aduised and vehement zeale, what was it, if it still needed to bee reuoked and amended, but a voluntary spurning at the stedfast decree and eternall counsell of God for mans redemption? But god forbid, we should so conceiue of our sauior, as if there were in his deeds, words or thoughts the least inclination to contradict his fathers resolution. He was not onely patient without refusing, but obedient without misliking his fathers will. Esay saith of him. [k] He was oppressed and afflicted, yet did hee not open his mouth. Hee was brought as a sheepe to the slaughter, and as a Lambe is dumbe before his shearer, so opened hee not his mouth. Doth the holie ghost giue him this testimonie, that hee mildelie and silentlie bare all the oppressions and afflictions, that were laide on him, and shall we dare auouch, that hee vehementlie and often struggled, and striued in his praiers against the knowne will of his Father; and sought by all meanes to decline the worke for which hee came into the worlde? [His flesh (they will saie,) feared death, though his spirit submitted it selfe to the will of his heauenlie Father.] As if his flesh did praie, and not his spirite? if then his praiers were passionate and vnaduised, his spirit cannot bee excused from consenting and yeelding thereto. And where do we learne that Christes flesh refused the lawe of his minde, and so preuailed against the spirite, that it wrested from him inconsiderate and disobedient thoughtes, and wordes? or when wee thus saie, doe wee not plainelie bring the sonne of GOD within the communion of our sinnefull corruption?

[i] Matth. 26. verse 44.

[k] Esay. 53.

[But his spirit was amazed with feare, and so hee knewe not what he praied.] We take too much vpō vs to put Christ beſides himſelfe, when it pleaſeth vs. His praiers in the garden were zealous, but religious; vehement, but reuerent; mourneful, but faithful. He offered vp [1] ſtrong cries and teares, but HE VVAS HEARD in that he aſked; and ſo long as God performed, what Chriſt deſired, it is more then preſumption to challenge his praiers as inconſtant and wauering. For my part though I could not conceiue the ſenſe of Chriſtes praier in the garden, yet do I fully reſolue he was moſt aſſured in faith, his praier ſhould take effect. His oftē repeating ỹ ſame words, noteth how great a thing hee requeſted at his fathers hands, which yet he obtained, though it were neuer ſo great. That which you call a reuocation, I take to bee a limitation, wherby Chriſt declared, he neuer ment to aske or haue any thing againſt his fathers liking; nor in any ſort to prefer his owne choiſe or eaſe, before his fathers will. If this be a trance, then faith and obedience are no fruits of Gods ſpirit, but fits of a diſtempered humor, and in the end we ſhall conclude godlines to be madnes. For greater ſubmiſsiō or more deuotiō, then Chriſt vttered in that agony, can no man ſhew. If therfore we condemne this as a maze in Chriſt, when ſhall zealous and deuout perſons be in their wits?

Christ praied often and earneſtly but with full aſsurance to be heard, [1] Hebre 5.

[But the ſcripture ſaith, he was [m] AFRIGHTED, & ASTONISHED.] The liuely beholding of Gods maieſty, or mās miſery might both affright & aſtoniſh his humane nature on the ſuddaine, but preſently, recollecting himſelfe, he fell to vehement and intentiue praier, and therein continued almoſt an houre, not warbling in his wordes, nor wauering in his petitions or affections; but perſeuering in the ſame minde, & in the ſame matter, till he obtained his deſire. Now to be abaſhed at Gods preſence, declared his pietie: and to bee ſtricken at the heart with the feeling of vengeance prouided for vs, commended his charitie. Lay theſe two, deuotion to God, and compaſsion towards men, as the grounds & cauſes

[m] Mark. 14. verſe. 33. Chriſt might at the firſt be abaſhed with Gods maieſty, or mans miſery; but he recouered himſelfe before he entered into his praiers.

of his Agonie, and you shall easily cleare this foule heape of absurdities and impieties, that now pursueth the contrarie position. It is humilitie for mans infirmitie to shake and tremble at the appearance of Gods glorie. It is mercie, to stand defixed and euen astonished with the sense and griefe of mans finall iudgement and eternall punishment. From this fountaine, that is from the meditation of the diuine Maiestie, and commiseration of humane miserie, if we derriue the HEAVINES of heart, FEARE and ASTONISHMENT, which Christ suffered or shewed in his agony, we can do him no wrong; because the more violent, the more eminent signes they were of submission to God, and compassion on man: his faith and loue not being oppressed with stupiditie, but inflamed with such vehemencie, that the weakenesse of mans flesh not able to followe the readinesse of his spirit, rauished with a wonderfull feruencie to giue himselfe to saue the worlde, might for the time faile in the exteriour actions, and offices of the bodie. But we must beware that we continue not this astonishment, when he came to his praiers. For in praier the heart must be, not onelie prepared and aduised; but sincerelie affected and wholie deuoted to aske nothing, but that which tendeth to Gods glorie, and agreeth with Gods will. He that otherwise asketh anie thing at Gods hands, prayeth not, but presumptuouslie tempteth God, and seeketh to make the wisedome and power of God seruiceable to his corrupt appetites. [n] You knowe not what you aske; said Christ to the sonnes of Zebedee, when he refused their petition, and reproued their follie. How shall we beleeue, wee shall receiue, if we aske we knowe not what? Faith must be rightlie directed, and throughlie perswaded, before it can obtaine. Christes prayers then in the garden were neither abrupt without sense, nor wauering without faith, that they needed bee excused or corrected; but his deuotion was instant, and perswasion constant that he should preuaile; and therefore hee ceased not to aske the selfe same thing thrise, till hee was heard, and

How and why Christ might be rauished.

[n] Mat. 20.

strengthened by an Angel from heauen.

[He asked that, they will say, which was not granted.]

Christs praier could not be reiected.

I am resolutelie of another minde. My reasons are, first the Apostle sayeth. [o] HE VVAS HEARD offering vp strong cries and teares. Secondlie, Christ himselfe sayeth; [p] Father I thanke thee, because thou hast heard me. I knowe THOV HEAREST ME ALVVAYES. And howe coulde it be otherwise? For if he prayed according to the will of God, he must needes bee heard; and agaynst the will of God hee neither did, nor would praie. For that were sinne in him, that was not ignorant of Gods will, both determined and reuealed. And God forbid, we should bee so wicked, as to say or thinke, that Christ would thrise in most earnest prayer, impugne his fathers will so well knowne, and so often foretolde by his owne mouth. I beléeue rather his owne report of himselfe; for hee coulde not lie. [q] I doe nothing (sayde hee) of my selfe, but as my father hath taught mee, so speake I these thinges. For hee that sent mee is with mee: the Father hath not left mee alone, because I DOE ALVVAYES the thinges, THAT PLEASE HIM. Though I beare recorde of my selfe, my recorde is true; FOR I KNOVVE VVHENCE I CAME, AND VVHITHER I GOE. As hee coulde not bee ignorant, so coulde hee not bee forgetfull of his Fathers counsell and decree. The glorie of God might appall him at the entrance into his prayers: but his constant continuing one and the same request to his Father three seuerall turnes, with intermission of time, and admonition to his Disciples to watch and praie, prooueth hee had not forgotten himselfe, that still persisted in his purpose; nor yet striued agaynst his Fathers will, in that his prayer was accepted, and assured from heauen.

[o] Heb. 5.

[p] Iohn 11.

[q] Iohn 8.

[Did then the cup passe from him; which was the summe of his prayer:] No doubt it did in that sense which he desired.

The

The cup mingled by Gods iust iudgment for the sin of man, did passe both from him, and vs, by force of his prayer; not that hee did not taste of it, but in that yeelding himselfe to the temporall and corporall chasticement thereof, hee quenched the spirituall and eternall vengeance, that was consequent after death: the abolishing whereof was a worke worthie of the sonne of God; and a memorable effect of that earnest and instant prayer, which our Saviour made in the Garden, thereby shutting vp hell, and opening heauen to all his members. And for that cause the Prophet Esay ioyneth his patient suffering and vehement praying, as needfull groundes of our redemption; hee bare the sinne of manie, and [r] PRAYED for the TRESPASSERS: and the Apostle reckoneth Christs [s] PRAIERS OFFERED VVITH TEARES, and his paines suffered through obedience as principall parts of his Priesthood, and effectuall sacrifices for the sinnes of the people.

The cup did passe from Christ in that sense in which he prayed it might.

[r] Esay. 53.

[s] Hebr. 5.

As praying in the garden Christ must be free from forgetting either his fathers will or loue; so suffering on the crosse he must haue not onely patience and obedience, but intelligence & assurance that the bloudy sacrifice which he offered, should be accepted as the propitiation for our sinnes, and himselfe exalted from the shame and paine of the crosse to euerlasting honour, ioy, and glorie. He did not offer himselfe on the altar of the crosse, supposing or presuming it might please God thereby to be fauourable vnto man; but as hee came into the world annointed and sent of purpose [t] to saue his people from their sinnes, so did hee [u] humble himselfe to the death of the Crosse, beeing thereto appointed by his heauenlie father; and therefore most assured that God was immutablie determined to accept his sacrifice for the sin of the world, and [x] by the bloud of his crosse to set at peace thinges both in heauen and in earth: and to reconcile vs that were straungers and enemies in euill woorkes, through death in the bodie of his flesh, to make vs holie and without fault

Christ on the crosse must be assured his sacrifice should be accepted.

[t] Matt. 1.

[u] Phil. 2.

[x] Colos. 1.

in

in the sight of God. This Saint Paule saith was Gods [y] GOOD PLEASVRE, to which Christ was [z] OBEDIENT, & therefore neither ignorant of it, nor doubtfull in it; but assuredlie resolued with fulnesse of faith and hope, that he which had decreed it, could not be changed; and that God which had sent him, would not deceiue him. And for that cause the Apostle maketh the death of Christ to be a [a] SACRIFICE OF A SVVEET SMELLING SAVOVR VNTO GOD; and saith, that [b] Iesus the authour & finisher of our faith, FOR THE IOY VVHICH VVAS SET BEFORE HIM, endured the crosse, and despised the shame (thereof) and is placed on the right hand of the throne of God. So that howsoeuer late writers haue found out the terror of Gods wrath, and horror of eternall death in the soule of Christ suffering; the Apostle teacheth vs, that Christ hanging in the shame and paine of the crosse, had not onelie peace and fauour with god, as offering a sweet smelling sacrifice, but also ioy before his eies of euerlasting glory at the right hand of ỹ throne of God. And with him agree both Peter & Dauid, when they bare witnes of Christ, that his [d] HEART VVAS GLAD, & his [e] TONGVE IOIFVL, and that euen [c] HIS FLESH should REST IN HOPE, notwithstanding the anguish of death, force of the graue, and fury of hell. For God would neither forsake his soule in hell, nor suffer his flesh to see corruption.

[y] Colos. 1. vers. 19. & 20
[z] Phil. 2. ver. 8.
[a] Ephe. 5.
[b] Heb. 12.
[d] Acts. 2.
[e] Psal. 16.

Dare anie man doubt of this doctrine, which is so cleare, lie and fullie deliuered vs in the Scriptures? Or make wee a pastime of it, in fauour of our fansies to ouerturne the verie principles of truth? [d] Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs an example, that wee shoulde followe his steppes. For if [c] wee suffer with him, wee shall bee glorified with him. Must we suffer the paines of the damned, afore we may hope to be partakers of his glorie? The gaine which we haue in Christ, when wee haue refused all thinges as vile for his sake, is to knowe the fellowshippe of his afflictions, and to bee conformed vnto his death; if by anie

We must suffer as Christ did; which I hope is not the paines of hell.
[d] 1. Pet. 2.
[c] Rom. 8.
[f] Phil. 3.

anie meanes wee may attaine to the resurrection of the deade. Shall the communion of Christes sufferings bring vs to the true torments of hell, and must we perswade our selues that wee are forsaken of God, afore wee can bee conformed to his death? g Reioyce (sayth Peter,) when yee doe communicate with Christes sufferings. Must we then REIOICE in the horror of hell, and bee glad of Gods displeasure towards vs? I thinke not. Howe farre fuller of comfort is the Apostles doctrine, where he saith; h As the sufferinges of Christ abound in vs; so our consolation aboundeth through Christ. And our hope is stedfast concerning you, that as you are partakers of the sufferinges, so shall yon bee of the comforts. What comfort these men can finde in the paines of the damned, I knowe not; they else where seeme to say, that all feares and griefes, all terrors and torments are trifles vnto the sense and feeling of Gods displeasure and iust indignation; but the holie Ghost I am sure proposeth to vs the Crosse of Christ as the waie to perfection, that neuer wanteth consolation. For therein though our i outwarde man perish, yet the inwarde man is daylie renued; and when our bodies die to sinne, as did Christes, our soules liue to God, as did his. Excellentlie doth the Apostle describe the comfort of Christes Crosse in all the faythfull, when hee sayeth. k Wee are afflicted on euerie side, but not ouerpressed; wanting, but not vtterlie destitute; persecuted, but not forsaken; falling, but not perishing; alwayes bearing about in our bodie the dying of the Lorde Iesu, that the life of Iesu might bee manifest in our bodyes. For wee, whiles wee liue, are still deliuered vnto death for Iesus sake, that the life of Iesu might bee manifest in our mortall flesh. Christ then in the mortification of his bodie on the Crosse, was neither OVERPRESSED, FORSAKEN, nor PERISHING; but relieued & supported inwardly by the power of gods spirit, in whith he reioiced, whiles his flesh indured bitter and sharpe torments.

g 1 Peter. 4.

h 2. Cor. 1.

Christs affliction on ỹ crosse was full of consolation,

i 2. Cor. 4.

k Ibidem.

[l] 2.Cor.12. And this rule, [l] When I am weake, then am I strong, was true in Christ, and after his example shall be in all his members. For Gods [m] power is perfited in infirmitie. [n] Very gladly therefore must all the godlie reioice and take pleasure in their infirmities, that the power of Christ may dwell in them. How can this be called Christs power, if he wanted it in his infirmities and afflictions? And if we haue it from him, why presume we to take it from him in the time of his sufferinges? Shall the scholler be aboue his maister? or the seruant more perfect then his Lord? Yea, then God manifested in the flesh? But I hope men learned will take good heede howe they diminish the comfort of Christs crosse; we must [o] looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of our faith. If he were amazed, perplexed, and forsaken in his afflictions, who shal raise and comfort vs in our extremities? Hee that himselfe was astonished and ouerwhelmed, with his sufferings on the crosse? It may then be said vnto him, [p] Phisition heale thy selfe. Shall hee comfort vs, that could NOT COMFORT himselfe? Can wee REIOICE AND TAKE PLEASVRE in following his steppes, when hee sanke vnder the burthen, and suffered both his fayth and hope for the time to faile? But farre be from vs these vnsauorie thoughts, and vnsemelie speaches. [q] It was fit that hee from whom, and by whom are all things, should CONSVMMATE BY AFFLICTIONS THE PRINCE OF OVR SALVATION, that should bring many sons vnto glorie; the selfe same way that he went before them. Which cannot be by doubting & distrusting the fauor and help of god, much lesse by suffering & enduring the paines of the damned; but by desiring through loue, and reioicing vnder hope to take vp Christs crosse and follow him; [r] delighting in reproches, necessities, persecutions and anguish for Christs sake, that [s] when his glorie shal appeare, we may be glad and reioice with fulnesse of euerlasting ioy.

[m] *Ibidem.*

[n] 12.Cor.12. [s] 1. Pet.4.

[o] Heb.12.

[p] Luke 4.

[q] Heb.2.

Do we then exempt the Lord Christ from all sense of his fathers wrath against our sins; whiles we defend in him peace

and

and ioy of the holie ghost, as he hung on the crosse: There is a feeling of gods wrath which may stand with the pacification & consolation of the inward man; and there is a sense of Gods wrath which ouerthroweth both, and breedeth a fearful apprehension of Gods displeasure towards vs: in which is neither peace nor comfort. All the miseries of mans life, whatsoeuer they be, came first frō the force of gods wrath reuenging sin; and therfore not only death & damnation, but al kinds of troubles, paines & griefs, in our states, bodies and minds, which shorten or sower this present life, are degrees of gods wrath, & chastisements of our transgression and corruption. When the plague was kindled amongst the people for murmuring against Moses & Aarō, Moses said to Aaron, [f] take ỹ censer & put fire & incense therein, & go quickly vnto the congregation, and make an atonemēt for thē: for there IS VVRATH GONE OVT FROM THE LORD; the plague is begun. When the prophet Iehu reproued Iehosaphat for aiding Achab the king of Israel; he said [t] wouldst thou help the wicked? and loue them that hate the lord? euen for this cause was THE VVRATH OF THE LORD VPON THEE. The prophet Esay comforting the church, saith [u] Awake, awake and stand vp ô Ierusalem, which hast drunke at the hand of the Lord, THE CVP OF HIS VVRATH. By the prophet Micheas the Church humbleth her selfe vnder the hande of God in these wordes. [x] I will BEARE THE VVRATH of the Lord, because I haue sinned against him, vntill he plead my cause, and execute iudgement for me. Euerie where the like is vsed in the scriptures. [y] I VVAS VVROTH with my people, and gaue them into thine hand, (saith God to Babylon) and thou didst shewe them no mercie; but didst lay a verie heauie yoke vpon the auncient. So Ieremie complaineth to God. Thou hast [z] vtterly reiected vs, thou art EXCEEDINGLY ANGRY WITH VS. These, and many such places more, mention the wrath of God, which the saints & seruants of god tasted and felt for their sinnes; but they do not import that Gods eternall fauour and loue towards his children in heauenlie things, was vanished or changed. The [a] foundation of God standeth sure; yea the [b] gifts and calling of

All miseries are the effects of gods wrath.

[f] Num. 16.

[t] 2. Chro. 19.

[u] Esay. 51.

[x] Mich. 7.

[y] Esay. 47.

[z] Lament. 5.

[a] 2. Tim. 2.

[b] Rom. 11.

God are without repentance. And therefore it is vtterlie impossible, that Gods election should alter, or that hee should not [c] loue his owne vnto the end; but [d] iudgement beginning at the house of God, [e] wee are chastened of the Lord, that wee should not be cõdemned with the world. And albeit ꝑ bitternes of affliction some time bite so neere, that the conscience of our sinnes accusing vs as vnworthie to bee the sonnes of God; feare calleth Gods fauour in question for the time; yet that temptation riseth from the guiltines of our hearts, and weakneſſe of our faith, which giueth way to the diuel: otherwise as we ought to beleeue god will be [f] merciful to our iniquities, & remember our sinnes no more, for his couenant made with vs in the bloud of his sonne; so should we bee fullie perswaded, that when we endure chastening, bee it neuer so sharpe, [g] God s offereth himselfe vnto vs, as vnto sonnes; for what sonne is it, whome the father chasteneth not? So that if wee bee without correction, whereof all are partakers, wee are bastards and not sonnes, since God chasteneth vs for our profite, that wee might be partakers of his holines.

[a] Iohn.13.
[d] 1 Peter.4.
[e] 1.Cor.11.
[f] Heb.8.
[g] Heb.12.

[h] This correction and chastisement of God, because it seemeth greeuous for the present, and not ioyous, is called in the scriptures the rodde and wrath of God; not that Gods loue ceaseth when he correcteth his children; (for [i] whom the Lord loueth he chasteneth, and he scourgeth euery sonne, that hee receiueth;) But as the blessings which he abundantly bestoweth on vs, do manifest his gracious and vndeserued mercy; so the plagues, with which he visiteth our sinnes, do witnes his righteous and prouoked iudgement. And in that sense must we reckon them to be the signes and effects of Gods wrath. For as he is iustly offended with our iniquities because they resist his will, [k] dishonour his name, and [l] grieue his holie spirit, by who we are sealed vnto the day of redemption; so when hee chasteneth our transgressions, the scourge which we feele is truelie said to be the wrath of God; not that God is touched with anie perturbation or alteration in himselfe, but his iustice

[h] Heb.12.
[i] Heb.13.
[k] Rom.2.
[l] Ephe.4.

leadeth

leadeth him to inflict that punishment on vs, as well to bring vs to hate that we haue done, by godlie sorrow; as to make vs more ware how we attempt the like, which is religious feare restraining vs from often and easie offending the maiesty and sanctitie of God. But this vengeance of our sinnes because it is temporall, when it should iustlie be eternall; and afflicteth the bodie, where it might worthilie kill the soule; it is rather the chastisement of a father, then the rigour of a Iudge. And yet the scriptures call it wrath, because God neuer proceedeth to punish, but when he is prouoked and despised, in such sort, that were it not for smart of correction, wee would fall to the rage of open rebellion.

Gods wrath towards his is mixed with mercy and iustice.

Wherefore the displeasure of God against our sinnes was verie great, that pursued our suertie, being innocent and obedient, and euen his owne and only sonne, with all maner of corporall and temporall scourges vnto death, before it could bee pacified; but that Gods fauour towards his sonne was altered or diminished, or that Christ in feare and terror apprehended ante such change in his father, or so much as doubted the constant and eternall counsell, and decree of God, to make him the Sauiour of the worlde, and by the bloud of his crosse to make peace in heauen and earth; these are so dangerous doctrines, that I thinke no learned diuine will vndertake them. [m] Though he were the sonne, yet learned he obedience, by that which he suffered, saith the Apostle; Now obedience could not breed diffidence but confidence; and was the vertue, that so highlie pleased God in Christ, that hee was [n] made the authour of eternall saluation vnto all that OBEY HIM. A double sense then of Gods wrath Christ Iesus had. The first that pursued his bodie vnto death on the tree, where [o] hee bare our sinnes; that is the [p] chastisement of our peace, the STRIPES of our iniquities, and VVOVNDES of our transgressions. The next was the serious contemplation of that eternall and intolerable vengeance; which the iustice of God had in store for vs, by reason of our manifold sinnes;

The wrath of God against our sinnes was very great in the crosse of Christ.

[m] Hebre. 5

[n] *Ibidem.*

[o] 1. Peter. 2.

[p] Esay. 53.

whose danger and destruction touched him as nére, through the tenderneſſe of his loue and pietie, as if it had beene imminent ouer his owne heade. And therefore euen sicke with sorrowe for vs, & trembling at the terror of Gods wrath prepared to reuēge our vnrighteousnes, he neuer left SVVEATING, VVEEPING and CRYING to God for vs, that his stripes might heale vs, his anguish excuse vs, his death quicken vs, and his person sustaine and suffer for vs, what soeuer the iustice of God would late on him, till he was heard, and allowed of God to offer the sacrifice, that should propitiate the sinnes of the worlde. In these paines and feares, whiles hee felt the arrowes of God sticking in his flesh, and sawe the terror of eternall death readie to swallow vp all his members, we mate grant, that the CONSOLATION and IOIE, which the humane soule of Christ before had of his Fathers continuall presence and assistance, was for the time somewhat diminished; his heart being oppressed with sorrow, his bodie afflicted with sharpe and bitter paine, his soule besieged with feare and care for vs, that neither the dreadful wrath of God ouerwhelmed vs, nor the deceitefull fraude of Satan vndermined vs: but by no meanes we mate admit in Christ either feare or doubt of his owne saluation; nor forgetfulnes of his person or function; but the harder the worke he vndertoke, the stronger his faith, that performed it; the more terrible our danger, the more stedfast his loue, that shrunke not from vs in so great extremitie.

[Might not yet the soule of Christ in this constant and full assurance of Gods loue towardes him, and mercie towards vs, feele the torments of hell for the time without ante distrusting or doubting of his saluation, or our redemption?] The essentiall torments of hell, are the absolute losse of Gods kingdome, without recouerie, and exquisite sense of hell fire euerlastinglie without release. Neither of these without horrible blasphemie can be imagined in the soule of Christ: the rest that are consequents to these, as desperation, murmuration,

tion, darkenesse, horrour and such other impressions are like to these; and coulde no more haue place in Christes person, then the antecedentes might. And since it is no where witnessed in the Scriptures, nor anie waie prooued, that Christ suffered the paines of hell; whie striue we to establish a mere conceite of men, neuer written or spoken of, before our age? beare wee so small regarde to the Church of Christ, and to all the learned fathers and teachers in the same, that for thirteene hundred yeres no man euer knew or heard the right waie, and true meane of our redemption and reconciliation to God, till the paines of hell were latelie deuised? Abuses and errours did by little and little creepe into the church by the wilinesse of Satan, and wilfulnesse of men; but that the gates of hell shoulde so much preuaile against it, as from the Apostles time to this present age, no christian should euer truelie teach or rightlie beleeue how we are saued by the crosse of Christ, is to me so strange, that I will be ten times aduised, before I will once admit it. Let vs giue thankes to God, for dispelling the mist of darkenes and ignorance, that ouerspred the world vnder Antichrist: but let vs neuer glorie that we first inuented a newe faith, neither testified in the scriptures, nor mentioned in anie ancient writers, nor euer heard of amongst christians before our time. It is no corne but cockle that springeth so late in the Lordes field; it is no faith, but fansie that neuer before was in ỹ foundation of Christs church. The simplicitie therfore of the scriptures continually PRESSING the DEATH and BLOVD of Christ, as the TRVE CAVSES of our saluation & redemption; and the consonancy of all antiquity according therewith, do so challenge my faith, and establish my hart, that I will see this new deuise of hel paines suffered in the soule of Christ, better warranted, before I wish it to be beleeued.

It should somewhat moue vs, ỹ hell paines were neuer added to Christs crosse for 1300 yeeres since the Apostles time.

And as for the doctrine of the church of England, which some men would faine infect with this late fansie, giue mee leaue, men and brethren to admonish you shortlie but truelie;

The doctrine here deliuered is authorised by the lawes of this realme.

q Num. 3. trulie; that who so will reade the sermon of the q saluation of al mankinde, in the first volume of Homilies; and likewise the

r Num. 13. two Homilies, concerning the death and r passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, contained in the second tome of Homilies; shall finde that the doctrine which I haue deliuered you, hath the publike approbation of Prince and Parliament, the consent and agreement of all the Bishops, and the subscription of all the clergie of this kingdome, to bee taught as truth in all the churches of this realme, and so hath had, as well in the daies of king Edwarde the first, as all the time of her maiesties most happie raigne, whatsoeuer some forward nouices haue told you to the contrarie. And thus much let me speake in the Honor of her maiestie, and this realme; I see no cause, why the doctrine of the church of England so plainelie warranted by the Scriptures, so fullie confessed by all the Fathers, so long continued in Christs church without contradiction, so sufficiently authorized, so generally acknowledged, should bee controlled or corrected, either by the dangerous deuises of some late writers, or by the vnsetled humours of some late teachers. Hold therefore in Gods name close to the rules of the holie ghost, close to the words of the christian & catholicke Fathers, close to the lawes of this realme: they all concur and consoine together, howsoeuer some giddie spirits haue lately buzzed in your eares that I impugned the doctrine of the church of England.

The first effect of Christes crosse; which is the glory of his resurrectiō.

I Haue deliuered you foure effectes of Christes crosse; the merite of his suffering which was infinite; the maner of his offering, which was bloudie; the power of his death, which was mightie; the comfort of his crosse, which was and is necessary for vs all; there remaineth the glorie of his resurrection, which was heauenlie, of which I did not purpose to speake, when I first entred this matter; but the ignorance of some, imagining I denied the Article of the Creede, HE DESCENDED INTO HELL (for descent but on the crosse they admit none)

and

and the zeale of others importuning me to knowe what they might safelie beléeue touching that article, hath made me to change my mind; and in this last part to shewe, that I neither frustrate the faith, nor alter the Créede by anie thing that I affirme, or refuse. Where to let you see the multiplicitie of mens wits and conceites; there are foure seuerall opinions that take holde euerie one of this Article of our Créede, and chalenge the true meaning thereof as their peculiar and vndoubted right. The FIRST applieth it to the soule of Christ suffering on the crosse; the SECOND to the bodie of Christ buried; the THIRD to the state of Christes soule seuered by death from the bodie; the LAST to the conquest and triumph which the humane soule of Christ had ouer hell by the glorie of his resurrection, as his bodie had ouer death. Which of these hath the best right, and fittest sense to be an article of our créede, will appeare by comparison in the end and vpshot of all; in the meane while, I will shortlie set them, that you mate see the substance of them, and so be able the better to iudge of them. Foure opinions touching the article of the Creede he descended into hell.

The first is the verie same, which I haue alreadie handled, and refused as not consonant to the christian faith; but rather repugnant to the dignitie, certainty, sanctity of Christs person, coniunction, & communion with God. The scriptures auouch, that Christs SOVLE was IN HELL, but not whiles he liued here on earth: it was a consequent to his death, and no part of his suffering on the crosse, as I shewed before. And since the times do so much varie, there can be no truth in taking the one for the other. In this life God sometimes suffereth the sorowes and feares of hell to beseege his seruantes, and bringeth them euen vnto hell; but his saints descend not into hell: feare may humble them, that would otherwise presume of themselues, or make triall howe fast they stande on that foundation against the which the gates of hell shall not preuaile: but this conflict of conscience must resolue on the assurance of Gods fauour, except they yéelde themselues vn- a 1. Samuel. 2. The feare of hell may fall on vs, but not on Christ.

to despaire. In Christ as there was no vse, so was there no place for anie such temptation. There was in him no danger of pride to exalt him; and therefore no neede of feare to deprelle him: no slacknelle or coldnelle could take holde of him; and so no terror requisite to awake him from sleepe, or inflame his zeale: generallie there was in him no corruption of nature, no infection of sinne, no wauering of faith, no want of grace, no doubt of Gods fauour; and so those dreadfull thoughts and feares of hell, which amaze other, could not arise within his heart; but all the paines and griefes, which the sonne of God felt in his pretious bodie, or righteous soule, as they were VOLVNTARY for our example, and SATISFACTORIE for our sinne; and not MEDICINABLE for anie infirmitie of his, nor PROFITABLE to bring him to perfection of holinesse, as they are in vs: so were they proportioned to his person, that was most assured of Gods euerlasting loue; and to his gifts, that could endure no inward decrease; and therefore hee must in this point differ from all the saints of God, that euer were or euer shall be on earth. For they may be tossed with the waues of temptation, rising from the remembrance of sinne, & remorse of conscience; but our Sauiour, as he was free from all touch of sinne, so was he from all feare of heart, that hee should or might bee reiected from Gods fauour, or adiudged to euerlasting death. Smart, paine and griefe of bodie or minde, be it neuer so great, will commende his obedience and patience; but the SENSE of damnation or separation from God, or the FEARE or DOVBT thereof in Christ, as they quench faith, and abolish grace, so they dissolue the vnion and communion of both his natures; or else breede a false perswasion, and sinnefull temptation in the soule of Christ. In vs that haue infinitelie prouoked the iustice of God, it is the true beholding what wee haue deserued, if God be not pleased for Christs sake to pardon and forgiue vs; In Christ, that was perfectlie righteous, and personallie ioyned with God, there could

bee no apprehension of hell paines as due vnto him, or determined for him, without renouncing his innocencie, and leauing the vnitie of his person; and consequentlie hee must find or feare, that God would be inconstant, and vniust; which are more then hainous impieties. For Christ could not FEARE or DOVBT his owne saluation, but he must feare or doubt, that either his humane nature should bee separated from his diuine, or his diuine together with his humane bee cast into hell fier; from which the Lord bleese the tongues and thoughts of al christian men. As for Christs not remēbring in a maze, that he was the son of God, & sauior of the world; is a seely shift to shun these inconueniencies; I had rather simply deny, then any way beleeue this kind of descending into hel.

Do I charge then anie man with vpholding these impieties? God forbid. I see by their own words they purpose and professe by al means to decline them, & no doubt detest them; but I confesse my dulnes, that see not how to auoide the one, if I auouch the other. If we take hell paines METAPHORICALLY for great and intolerable paines; in which sense the word maie bee vsed; then it is no daunger to saie, Christ suffered on the crosse the paines of hell: because there cannе bee no doubt, but HIS PAYNES were exceeding GREATE, and more SHARPE, then wee cannе conceiue or vtter. But this is not the meaning of the Crede in that Article hee descended into Hell; by reason there are wordes before inferring the paynes, which hee SVFFERED, when hee was CRVCIFIED. If wee attribute the sense of Gods wrath, and feeling of hell paynes vnto Christ by waie of COGNITION, and COMPASSION towardes vs, forsomuch as the soule hath her sight, and pitie hath her inwarde feeling of other mens miseries, as if they were our owne; it is no wrong to the person or function of our Sauiour for vs to confesse, that hee considered and grieued to see the burthen of Gods euerlasting wrath due to our sinnes, none

How Christ in some sense may be said to haue suffered the paines of hel on ỹ crosse.

otherwise then if himselfe had beene subiect thereto: so long as we leaue him certaintie and securitie of his owne saluation & our redemption; that his bowels of mercie maie bee moued and affected for our danger, and not for his owne. It is farre more religious to presse the soule of Christ with violent panges of griefe and sorrowe for our inquities and miseries; then to touch him with anie feare or doubt of his own innocencie or safetie. Charitie is a fitter Agonie for the sonne of God in our flesh, then either timiditie or stupiditie; and yet I do not thinke this to be the sense of the Creede, when it saieth hee descended into hell; for that it were somewhat strange to expresse the virtues of Christs suffering, by his descending into hell.

Papists were the first brochers of this opinion, that Christ suffered hell paines on the crosse.

And least the insolent sect of Iesuites shoulde take such pleasure as they doe, in misconstruing other mens wordes, and blazing them vnto the worlde as erroneous and impious; let them remember, that some of their owne side, and those not of the meanest both for learning and religion amongst them, haue not onelie waded as farre as anie other newe writers in this position; but for ought that I reade, haue gone farther; howsoeuer they will defende it or excuse it. Nicholaus Cusanus a Cardinall of their church, and a great adviser of the councell of Basill, 50. yeeres before Luther appeared, first broched this assertion. [t] *Passio Christi, (qua maior nulla potest esse) fuit vt damnatorum, qui magis damnari nequeunt, scilicet* VSQVE AD POENAM INFERNALEM. The suffering of Christ, (then the which there can be no greater,) was as of the damned, which cannot bee more condemned, EVEN VNTO THE PAINES OF HELL. And againe. [u] *Illam pœnã sensus* CONFORMEM DAMNATIS IN INFERNO, *pati voluit in gloriam dei patris sui.* That paine of feeling agreeable to the damned in hell, Christ would suffer for the glory of God his father. Augustinus Iustinianus, that set out the Psalter in Hebrew with fiue translations and obseruations, the same yeere, that Luther beganne to write,

[t] *Nicholaus de Cusa Excitationum lib. 10. ex sermone: qui per spiritum sanctum semetipsũ obtulit.*

[u] *Ibidem.*

write; in his scholies vpon the 30 Psalme, mentioneth this opinion of Cusanus, and saith, [x] *Se huius eruditissimi viri, & in omni scientia eminentissimi opinionem, nec amplecti, nec aspernari;* He neither embraceth nor reiecteth the opinion of that most learned man and excelling in all kinde of knowledge. *Iohannes Ferus* a Franciscane and preacher at *Mogunce*, about the same time that Caluine wrote, goeth further then anie other writer, that I haue read. Commenting vpon these wordes of Christ, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, he saith, [y] *Exuit Christus hac horâ* DEVM, *non abiciendo, sed non* SENTIENDO: *sepositi patrem vt hominem ageret. Sic & Deus pater, nunc non patrem, sed* TYRANNVM AGIT, *quamuis interim amicissimo in Christum sit animo. Illa Christi derelictio pauor est conscientiæ nostræ ob admissa peccata, quæ iudicium dei & iram æternam experitur: & sic afficitur, quasi in perpetuum derelicta & reiecta à facie Dei esset.* That verie hower Christ put off GOD, not casting him away, but not FEELING him; he laid aside his father, that he might shew himselfe to be a man. So also God the father now taketh vnto him the PERSON not of a father, but OF A TYRANT; though in heart hee were most louing vnto Christ. That forsaking of Christ is the feare of our conscience for sinne committed, which feeleth the iudgment and eternall wrath of God; & is so affected, as if it were forsaken and reiected from the face of God for euer. And as if this were not inough to say, that Christ put off his diuine nature, as hauing no feeling of it, and God the father played the PART OF A TYRANT; he goeth on and addeth. [z] *Non solum supplicium à nobis meritum, verum etiam* DESPERATIONEM NOSTRAM *in se transtulit. Itaque Christus vt peccatores liberaret constituit seipsum in locum omnium peccatorum, non quidem furans, adulterans, occidens, &c: sed stipendium, pœnam & meritum peccatorum, quæ sunt frigus, calor, esuries, sitis, timor, tremor, horror mortis, horror inferni,* DESPERATIO, *mors,* INFERNVS IPSE) *in se transferens, vt famem fame, timorem timore, horrorem horrore,* DESPERATIONEM DESPERATIONE,

[x] *August. Iustinianus in scholiis Octapli in Psal. 30.*

[y] *Ferus, lib. 4. in Mat. cap. 27. in illa verba, Deus meus, deus meus*

[z] *Ibidem.*

TIONE, *mortem morte*, INFERNVM INFERNO, *breuiter* SATANAM SATANA, *vinceret*. Christ did transferre to himselfe not onelie the punishment which wee had deserued, but euen OVR DESPERATION And therefore Christ, that hee might deliuer sinners, set himselfe in the place of all sinners, not by stealing, adultering, killing, but by transferring vnto himselfe, the wages, punishment, and desert of sinners, which are heate and colde, hunger and thirst, feare and trembling, horror of death, HORROR OF HELL DESPERATION, death, HELL IT SELFE: that he might ouercome hunger with hunger, feare with feare, horror with horror, DESPERATION VVITH DESPERATION, death with death, HELL VVITH HELL, and lastlie, SATAN VVITH SATAN. Trulie I knowe no man that so plainlie auoucheth, Christ admitted and receyued vnto himselfe DESPERATION, as this Frier doth. For where other men warilie decline to say that CHRIST DESPAIRED, this Franciscane boldlie saith, Christ transferred vnto himselfe DESPERATION, HELL, yea, THE DIVELL and all, and was so affected for the time, as if he had FELT THE ETERNALL VVRATH OF GOD, and were REIECTED FOR EVER. Could those quarrellers haue gotten the like aduantage against anie of our writers, they would haue filled the world with their tragicall exclamations of HERESIE, BLASPHEMIE, TVRCISME, PAGANISME, and I knowe not what; and therefore let them goe and washe their owne faces from these spottes, before they declaime so violentlie against our deformities.

Charitie supposeth the best

And albeit I like not these speeches either in theirs or ours, yet I cleare them both from anie purpose of wilfull blasphemie. They might be deceiued in the sequele of their assertion, but sure they were neuer so vnaduised, as to fasten either DESPERATION or DAMNATION on the soule of Christ. Perhappes they thought hee was besieged and assaulted with these temptations, and that the humane

humane nature of Christ, being left to it selfe, could not presently & easilie stand cleare from the vengeance due to our sinnes but with some conflict and feare, wrestled from vnder the weight of our iniquities, and in this fight did sweat blood, and spake as if he were forsaken: yea Ferus seemeth to mean that Christ did voluntarilie take the burthen of desperation and damnation from vs, and laid it on himselfe; against whom it could not prevaile; that by transferring those dangers from our persons to his, & suffering them for the time, he might breake them, and dissolue them for euer.

Naturall infirmities, which are outragious in vs by reason of our corruption, Christ might suffer to arise within him, and there temper them, as Cyrill & other ancient fathers do teach; but sinfull extremities, as desperation, confusion, reiection, damnation, Christ must conquere by repelling, not by suffering: least the fellowship of our sinnes be more hainous in him, then in vs. For as his faith, hope and loue must by manie degrees exceed ours in perfection; so the quenching or slaking of these graces in him, is greater sinne then in vs. Doubt and distrust is farre more impious in Angels, by reason of their excellent knowledge and strength, then in men; and most impious in the soule of Christ, who by his personall vnion with God, derived clearer intelligence in knowing Gods will, and greater assurance to persist therein, then either man or Angell. For the verie Angels haue but the condition of their creation, from which some fell; and confirmation of grace, in which the rest stand: but no creature euer had so fast conjunction, and full communion with the godhead, as the soule of Christ. And therefore DVBITATION, DESPERATION, TREPIDATION in his soule are more hainous sinnes, then in any other creature; for so much as they beleeue not the truth, trust not the promise, rest not secured in the VOICE and OATH of God, which all are immutable and impossible to bee false; and feare least Gods goodnesse and loue will faile; and in fine doe depriue him of his diuine nature, since without

Sinful infirmities are more hainous in Christ then in vs.

without veritie, bonitie, and constancie, there can be no God. If then Christs soule could not be infected with sinne, nor haue anie societie with euill, no not for an instant; these doubts and feares of Gods fauour, and his saluation must be farre from him; and in the full perswasion, and steadfast expectation of eternall ioy and blisse, howe desperation should lodge, I yet vnderstand not.

God might reueale, and the soule of Christ in this life beholde, as all ours shall when we appeare before the face of God after this life, what cup was prepared for the wicked to drinke, and the sight thereof as it is most fearefull, so might it make him tremble, though he were neuer so free from it; but more then the VISION of Gods wrath, and COMMISERATION of mans danger, if wee attribute to the soule of Christ; we must either grant he was tempted as well with our iniquities, through lacke of grace, as with our infirmities through want of strength; or else cast him into a traunce at the time of his passion, as some doe, to excuse him from sinne. For that in the fulnesse of Gods fauour, grace and spirite, the soule of Christ shoulde feele the flames of hell fire; can neither bee prooued, nor defended by the worde of God. The proofe I leaue to them that like the position; which if anie man affirme, he were best bee sure of his footing. It is no small arrogancie, and blasphemie to sit Iudge in Gods place, and to condemne Christs soule to hell fire, without a sounde and cleare commission, to warrant that assertion. Besides hell fire in the Scriptures being ETERNALL; by what authoritie will they quench it at their pleasure, and make it temporarie? And if Christes soule beeing personallie ioyned to the Deitie, notwithstanding might feele the furie of hell fire, when shall the Saints of God, that can neuer bee so vnited vnto his glorie, nor assured of his societie, nor so endued with his sanctitie, bee free from the flames of hell? If that vnion and communion which Christ had with God, coulde not exclude

Christs soule freer from hell then either saints or angels.

exclude hell fire; what shall hinder but that the Angels in heauen mate for the time likewise feele the flames thereof? Can they haue faster coherence, or fuller presence of God, then hee which was ioyned with God in vnitie of person? They come not neere the fauour and grace, knowledge and truth, power & stedfastnes of the manhoode of Christ, which here on earth they did serue and adore. But none of these things can be intended in the Creede; for there the articles are placed in ORDER and TIME, as they were performed. And therfore when Christ was DEAD AND BVRIED, he then DESCENDED INTO HELL.

The second opinion is, that Christs descent to hell is all one with his burial, for that SHEOL in the olde testament doth most commonlie, if not continuallie signifie the graue. But this is nothing to the Creede, whose authoritie and antiquitie if wee reuerence, it is soone concluded, that hell there doth not signifie the graue. For first it is absurde, that in a short rehearsall of the faith made for the simplest to conceiue, one article shoulde bee twice repeated; and after a plaine and knowne woorde, hee was buried which no man could doubt of; a darke and enigmaticall phrase of speech, HE DESCENDED INTO HELL, which fewe men did vnderstande, should bee added, rather to obscure then to expound the former. Againe, HE DESCENDED, signifieth a voluntarie motion, where as the bodie dead hath neither VVILL nor MOTION. Thirdlie, HELL in the new testament, is so vnusuall for the graue; that I thinke no example can be shewed thereof. Though therefore this exposition cannot be charged with falsitie, for Christ was truelie buried; yet may it not bee endured by reason of the idle repetition, and strange circumloquution, which troubleth and confoundeth the hearer; besides the improprietie and incoherence of the woorde, that a deade corps should descend, and speciallie vnto hell.

This opinion is not false, but impertinent and idle.

The third opinion doth neither mistake the TIME nor the PART which descended: for they referre the woords of the

Creede to Christes soule after DEATH, but they change the name of hell into the state of the deade; and so confesse that Christes soule after separation from the bodie endured THE STATE OF THE DEAD. To this a number of learned men incline, because they would auoyde *Limbus patrum*; disliking by all meanes that the soules of the righteous and faithfull before Christes suffering shoulde be kept in a region or part of hell; and thence deliuered by his descent. I see well enough what they woulde faine decline; but what if by their farre set exposition they fall into that errour which they seeke to flie? Doe they not farre off misse, and quite beside the marke? Let vs looke a little into their conceite. Christ descended into hell, that is, saie they, his soule after death conuersed among the soules of the iust, that were dead before him. But where were the soules of the iust? In a place, or no? Without a place can nothing be, but onelie God. All creatures be they soules or angels are tyed with place, though they do not replenish their places as bodies do; yea what soeuer is not circumscribed within a place, is infinite; which no creature can bee. The soules then of the righteous must of necessitie bee in a place. And what call you that place by your opinion? For sothe even HELL. For Christ descending into hell, as you expound it, was his conuersing among the soules of the dead. Those soules then were in a place, and that place by your construction the Creed calleth Hell. Their state you will say, is called hell, but not their place. A wittie difference I assure you. The place for soules after this life, is answerable to their state. If their state bee hell, their place can neither bee Heauen, nor Paradise. As is their receptacle; so is their rest; the place doth bring either ioy or paine, which is their state. So that if Christ descending into hell conuersed with the soules of the righteous; of force the soules of the righteous were in hell, which is the selfe same errour, that you woulde seeme by your newe founde

The third opinion can hardly auoid *Limbus patrum*, which they would seeme most to shun.

interpre-

interpretation to preuent.

[But the state of the deade, is in Hebrew noted by the worde Sheôl; and thither Christ descended.] And the state or place whither Christ descended, is in the Creede named hell, and so Sheôl is that which the Creede calleth hell. In deede some say, that Sheôl doth neuer in the olde testament signifie the place of the damned: but I must be borne with, if I bee not of their minde. Manie men saie, that they neuer proue; and some speake they know not what. As both partes of man sinned in the first transgression; so was there a pit of perdition prouided for either part; the graue for the bodie, which there should rot; and hell for the soule, which there should bee tormented with euerlasting fire. Both these pits, because they allwayes expect and exact as their due, the bodies and soules of mortall and sinfull men, and neuer are satisfied, are contained in the worde Sheôl; and are not distinguished by the nature of the worde, which is common to both; but by the circumstances added, which are proper to either. For example, when the worde Sheôl is qualified with an OPPOSITION to heauen with a difference of SCITVATION, as the LOVVER PIT; with an ADDITION of the soule there suffering, or of the paine there suffered; all these are proofs that the worde Sheôl, which is otherwise indifferent, must there be taken not for the burial of the body, nor for the change from this life, but for the state of destruction, and place of damnation. [a] Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flie from thy presence? If I ascend into heauen, thou art there: If I lodge BENEATH IN HEL, thou art there. Opposite to heauen is not the graue, where the bodies of all gods saints do lie, but hell as being the farthest from it, and most repugnāt to it; since from hel to heauen there is no passage for man; but from the graue to heauen is the assured hope of all the faithfull. This opposition our Sauiour expressing in the new testament, saith, [b] And thou *Capernaum* which art exalted to heauen, shalt bee thrust downe to hell.

Sheol as well hell as the graue.

[a] Psal. 139.

[b] Mat. 11. ve. 23

Christ doth not threaten the contemners of his doctrine, and myracles with the graue, which is common to all the godlie; but with perpetuall destruction and punishment proportionable to the height of their pride, which must needes be hell. And so much followeth in plaine wordes in the next verse.

[c] *Ibid. ver. 24.* [c] I say to you, it shall be easier for them of the land of Sodome in the day of iudgement, then for thee. In the daie of iudgement as death, so the graue are at an ende, for the bodies of the wicked shall then liue for euer; and then shall Capernaum be cast downe to hell for the contempt of Christs preaching.

As hel is the fartheſt place from heauen, that can be named, so it is the loweſt, and therefore by the lower pit, is ment not the graue, but hell, which in ſcituation is far lower then ẏ outſide of the earth where men are buried. [d] Canſt thou by ſearching find out God? canſt thou find out the perfection of the almightie? to the height of heauen what canſt thou do? it is deeper then hell; how canſt thou know it? Gods perfection is higher then the higheſt place, which is heauen; & deeper then the deepeſt place, which is hel. To compare his power or iuſtice with the depth of the graue, which is not foure yeards deepe at the moſt, were a very ſlender compariſon for the incomprehenſible greatnes of god; but ſince in height & depth it exceedeth all things; there can be no doubt, but it is compared with the higheſt & deepeſt places that are; which are heauen and hel. In like ſort, [e] Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from the loweſt pit, can not be ment of the graue. For mens ſouls are not incloſed in graues with their bodies, but as the pit prouided for the body is the higher of the twaine, and the pit prepared for the ſoule is the lower; ſo the loweſt pit out of queſtion is hell, where the ſoules of ſuch as are reiected from God are detained againſt the day of vengeance. And albeit ſome of theſe ſpeeches may perchance admit an allegoricall ſenſe, and ſo ſignifie the greateſt and extreameſt dangers that might be; yet the ground of the allegorie dependeth on the nature of hell, and not of the graue, becauſe of the two ſortes of pittes,

[d] *Iob. 11*

The *loweſt* place and *farthest* from heauen is hell.

[e] *Pſal. 85.*

hell

hell is the lowest; and made to receaue the soules of men, which the graue doth not.[f] A fire, (saith God by Moses) is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, and set on fire the foundations of the mountaines. Fire in the graue there is none, in hell there is; neither can the sepulcher, where mens bodies lie buried, be the bottome of hell. For so shall we make the place of hell higher then the earth, which the scripture euerie where crosseth, when it calleth hell the deepe, or lowest pit. A fire then burning to the bottome of hell, and inflaming the verie foundations of the hils, can haue no resemblance to the graue, nor performance in the graue; but Sheol in that scripture, as in manie others, must signifie the verie place of the damned, which we call hell. [f] Deut. 32.

The wordes then of the Créede, hee descended into hell, since the defenders of this thirde opinion doe not referre to the bodie of Christ buried, but to the soule of Christ after death; it is euident by their position, that not onelie Christs soule after this life descended to hell, but all the soules of the iust and righteous leauing this worlde before Christes comming, descended likewise into hell. And this euasion of theirs, that Sheol in Hebrew signifieth the state of the deade after this life, be it good or bad, standeth them in little stéed. For first they doe not auoid that obscure and idle repetition, wherewith the second opinion was charged; that, after a plaine and easie article, hee was deade, the selfe same thing should bee iterated againe with a verie darke and doubtfull kind of hebraisme, he descended into Sheôl. By this former, he was dead, euerie man must néedes conceaue, not onelie the separation of the soule from the bodie, but also the subiection of either part to the state of the deade. What néeded then an vnknowne hebrew phrase hee descended into Sheôl, to expresse the verie same point, which before was fullie and faithfullie deliuered? Againe, though Sheôl be common to the bodies of the faithfull and infidels, yet may it bee verie well doubted, whether the soules of the righteous departed

The scripture maketh a descent to *Sheol*.

this life be in Sheol, or no. And vnder correction I take it to bee more, then the Scripture anie where doeth positiuelie affirme. My reason is, that Abrahams bosome is by our Sauiour placed [g] ABOVE, FARRE OFF from the place, where the wicked after this life are tormented. Now to Sheol the Scripture maketh a DESCENT, not an ascent, as when Iacob saieth; [h] I WILL GOE DOVVNE TO Sheol vnto my sonne, mourning. And againe, you will bring my gray hayres with sorrow DOVVNE TO SHEOL. [i] And least wee should dreame of a metaphoricall kinde of descent; in the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, the scripture saieth; [k] THE GROVNDE claue asunder, that was VNDER THEM, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them vp, with their families. So they, and all that were with them, DESCENDED aliue into Sheol, and the earth COVERED THEM. To Sheol then the scripture maketh a locall descent, which is either of the bodie to the graue, (for so Iacobs words must be vnderstood, when he saith, I will descende to *Sheol* vnto my sonne;) or of the soule after death, to the place of torment, which is the rewarde of all the wicked. The [l] wicked (saith Dauid) shall be turned into *Sheol*, and al nations that forget God. Where he doth not meane, they shall die aswel as the godly, which is likewise the lot of all the iust & righteous; but they shall haue the due wages of sinne; both body and soule descending to Sheol; that is, the one to corruption in the earth, the other to damnation in hell. For Sheol containeth both, and importeth both to the forgetters and despisers of God; albeit it fasten no farther on the godly, then to bring their bodies to the graue, which is the gate of hel. Ezechiah mentioning in his plaints, how he was willed by the prophet to prepare himselfe to die, thus expresseth it: [m] I said in the cutting off of my daies; I shal goe to the gates of *Sheol*, I am depriued of the residue of my yeeres; but [n] wicked go to THE DEPTH OF SHEOL, which is the place of euerlasting punishment. The way of life (saith Salomon) is ON HIGH, to him

[g] Luke. 16

[h] Genes. 37

[i] Genes. 42.

[k] Numb. 16

[l] Psal. 9.

The soules of ỹ wicked were in *Sheol* before Christs comming, but not of the godly.

[m] Esay. 38

[n] Prouerb. 15

him that vnderstandeth) to decline frō SHEOL BENEATH. So that after this life, the soules that liue, are aboue, for the way to life is on high, the soules that die go to the depth of Sheol, euen to the bottomles pit of perdition. Of him that hanteth harlots Salomon saith, ° He knoweth not ỹ her ghests are in the depth of Sheol, that is, so wrapped in their sinnes, that they cannot preuent euerlasting damnation. And againe, ᵖ Thou shalt smite the child with the rod, and shalt deliuer his soule frō *Sheol*. Correction will not saue a childe that hee shall not see death, but it will bow him to obedience, and so saue his soule from destruction. Yea how should Dauid so often confesse to God that his soule was freed from Sheol, if by Sheol hee ment the state after death: for thence it was impossible his soule should be deliuered. ᵍ What man liueth, & shal not see death? ʳ so precious is the redēption of the soule (frō death) that it must cease for euer. And yet comparing himself with the wicked, & his state with theirs, he saith. ˢ Like sheepe shall they lie in *Sheol*; death shal deuoure thē, and the righteous shall haue dominiō ouer thē, in the day spring: But God wil deliuer my soule from the power of *Sheol*, for he will receiue me. Doth Dauid meane he shal neuer die, or that his soule shalbe deliuered from Sheol, that is from the state of such as were departed this life: ỹ imagination were both false & absurd; but he meaneth, that death shal deuoure the wicked wholy, as well soule as bodie; whereas he did assuredly beleeue, ỹ God would deliuer his soule from the power of *Sheol*, & would receaue him after death, though his body must of force by the condition of nature ware olde as a garment, and rot in the graue, til the day of resurrection.

And if anie man thinke good in some such places, as these are, to interpret the POWER FOR LIFE, because it is the spring and cause of life in the bodie; and SHEOL for the GRAVE, where life endeth; I will not vtterly condemne his exposition, so long as he keepeth a different power of Sheol ouer ỹ vniust & vnfull, frō which Dauid saith, God will deliuer his soule, and do not make the soules of the righteous DESCEND TO SHEOL

° Prouerb. 9

ᵖ Prouerb. 23

ᵍ Psal. 89.

ʳ Psal. 49

ˢ Psal. 49.

Abrahams bosome is no part of *Sheol*, or hel.

SHEOL after death. For that directlie impugneth the doc-
[t] Prouerb. 13 trine, as well of the olde testament, which saith the [t] way of life is on high; as of our Sauiour, who placeth Abrahams
[u] Luke 16. bosome VPWARD A FAR OFF from hell; when he saith of the rich man; that [u] being in hell in torments, hee LIFT VP his eies and saw *Abraham* A FAR OFF, and *Lazarus* in his bosome. Upon which place, S. Augustē learnedlie and trulie inferreth, [x] *Ne ipsos quidem* INFEROS VSPIAM *scripturarum locis* IN BONO APPELLATOS *potuireperire. Quod*
[x] *August. epist. 99.* *si nusquam in diuinis authoritatibus legitur, non vtique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secretæ cuiusdam quietis habitatio* ALIQVA PARS INFERORVM *esse credenda est: quanquam in ijs ipsis tanti magistri verbis, vbi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter nos & vos chaos magnum firmatum est*; SATIS VT OPINOR APPARET, NON ESSE QVANDAM PARTEM, ET QVASI MEMBRVM INFERORVM, *tantæ illius felicitatis sinum. Chaos enim magnum, quid est nisi quidam hiatus multum ea separans, inter quæ non solum est, verum etiam firmatus est?* The name of *Inferi* I could no where finde in anie place of scripture vsed IN ANY GOOD SENSE: which if wee doe no where reade in the authorities of the scripture, surelie *Abrahams* bosome, which is an habitation of secret rest, may not be thought to bee ANY PEECE OF THE LOVVER PARTS albeit in the words of so sufficient a maister (as our Sauiour) where he maketh *Abraham* say, betwixt vs and you there is a GREATE GVLFE ESTABLISHED, it is EVIDENT ENOVGH, as I take it; that the bosome of so great felicitie, is NO PART NOR MEMBER of hell. For what is a great gulfe, but a great distance separating those places, betweene which it lieth? *Inferi* are the lower parts where the deade remaine, which the Hebrew calleth Sheôl; and touching Inferi, which are the places, or spirits beneath, we maie with S. Austen conclude two thinges out of the manifest wordes of our Sauiour. First that Abrahams bosome is VPWARD towards heauen, and therfore the soules of the righteous before the death of Christ

ascended

ascended rather, then descended. Next, that neither paradise, nor Abrahams bosome, (which was the receptacle for ỹ soules of all the sonnes of Abraham, that held the faith, and did the workes of Abraham,) was anie part or member of hell. So that CHRISTS DESCENDING INTO HELL cannot be expounded of his conuersing with the spirites of the iust and perfect men after his death; nor of his enduring the state of the deade; since the place, where their soules doe rest after death, is no where in the scriptures called HELL or SHEOL, or, as S. Austen speaketh, INFERI. And this I take to be so cleere, that neither Iewish Rabbines with their grammaticall obseruations, nor Greeke poets with their fantasticall imaginations may be suffered to contradict it. Howe easie it is to wrangle with the words, NEPHESH, SHEOL, and HADES a meane scholar mate soon perceiue; but I hold it no sound course to fetch the explication of the mysteries of christian religion, either from such impudent impugners of it, as were the Rabbines, or from such ignorant deluders of it, as were the prophane poets, who talke euerie where of heauen and hell, according to the false and lewde perswasion of their own hearts. And therfore they may spare their paines, that promise vs so manie thousand deponentes both Iewish and heathen, that Sheol and Hades do not signifie hell. It will trouble them more then they thinke, to bring vs but one good prose out of the scripture, that the soules of the righteous before Christs comming, were in Sheol or Hades; and till they doe, I rest on Saint Austens collection out of the wordes of Christ; that Abrahams bosome is no peece nor part of Hades, or Inferi, which the hebrew calleth Sheol, as being deuided from it with a mightie distance; and that the soules of the iust departing this life before Christs death, were CARRIED VP BY THE ANGELS, INTO ABRAHAMS BOSOME.) Luke. 16.

So that as yet wee haue not the true meaning of these words of our creed, he was CRVCIFIED, DEAD, & BVRIED;

XI. HE

HE DESCENDED INTO HEL; neither doeth anie of the precedent opinions come neere the plaine and true exposition thereof. For in my iudgement they must haue a sense both DIFFERENT in matter, and CONSEQVENT in order, euen as they lie, before we can rightlie vnderstand thē. First he must be DEAD; then BVRIED in body, which was laid in the earth: last the soule after it was seuered by death from the bodie, DESCENDED INTO HEL; & this third point, he descended into hell, must neither be ALLEGORIZED, which in matters of faith is verie dangerous, so long as the proper sense containeth a truth; nor CONFOVNDED VVITH THE FORMER: for so the Creed shal not shortly touch mysteries of religion, but darcklie trouble vs with phrases of vanation. And therefore for my part, I retaine in expounding this Article, 3. things; DISTINCTION of matter, CONSEQVENCE of order, & PROPRIETY of words; and those three considered, the sense of the Article maie & must be, that Christ, after his BODY was BVRIED, in SOVLE DESCENDED VNTO that place, which the scripture properly calleth HEL; & this sense I find to be so far from any falsity or absurdity, that it is more honorable to Christ, and more comfortable to christians, then any of the rest, that we haue yet examined. Which that you may the better perceiue, giue me leaue somewhat farther to repeat the fruit and force of his glorious resurrection.

How y words of the Creed are best expounded.

Christ is called [z] the first fruits of them that slept; not that neuer none before Christ was restored from the deade, to liue heere on earth; but though many were so reuiued againe, yet from the foundation of the worlde not one was euer raised vnto a blessed and immortall life before Christ. Elias raised the [a] widowe of Sareptas sonne; Elizeus the [b] Sunamites; Christ himself restored to life the [c] daughter of Iairus, the [d] widowes onlie sonne of Naim, and [e] Lazarus; yet all these after their returne to life were still subiect to sinne and death, as they were before; but he whom the scripture nameth [f] the first begotten of the dead, was indeede the first, that euer rose from the

[z] 1. Corinth. 15

[a] 1. Regum. 17.
[b] 2. Regum. 4
[c] Marci. 5.
[d] Luke 7
[e] Iohn. 11

[f] Reuelat. 1.

the deade into an happy and heauenly life. For where man here on earth is beset with three dangers, with SINNE during life, with DEATH shortning life, with HEL tormenting after life; (the full vengeance of sinne deliuering the body to death, the soule to hel:) the resurrection of Christ, being the full conquest of all his & our enemies, that impugne either his glory or our safety, must ouerthrowe, sinne, death & hel; not in his own person onlie, to whom no such thing was due, but in our steed, & for our good; ỿ we might bee likewise freed from the power of those foes; and as members be ioyned vnto our head, wholy without any hinderance, euerlastingly without anie disturbance, and ioyfully without any greeuance. Wherfore Christ rising into a SPIRITVAL, IMMORTAL, & CELESTIAL life, freed vs from the dominion of sinne, feare of death, and fury of Satan; and by [s] quickening vs, raising vs vp, and setting vs together with himselfe, in heauenly places, hath not only giuen vs the victorie against sinne, and death, but euen trodden down Satan vnder our feet.

Christ the first that euer rose, conqueror of sinne, death and hell.

[s] Ephes. 2.

Of Christs conquest against sinne & death, I shall not néd to say much; things not impugned require lesse paines to be defended; his conquest ouer hel, as in himself it shewed most power, & purchased most honor; so from vs it deserueth greatest thanks, as bringing vs greatest comfort; that though sinne remaine, & death preuaile against our bodies, there is yet no cause to feare or doubt the fulnesse and sureness of our redemption, since the strength of hell is altogether conquered & abolished from the faithfull; which before was the very sting of sinne and death. As therfore Christ was [h] deliuered to death for our sinnes; and is risen againe for our iustification; so by MERCY REMITTING, and GRACE REPRESSING, he pareth the branches, and drieth the rote of sinne, till the bodie of sinne and death turning to dust, & withering in the graue, be restored againe after Christs example to perpetuall & celestial life and blisse. Insomuch that by lamenting sinne past, and resisting sinne to come, sin daily dieth in vs; and the inward man

The conquest of Christ ouer sinne & death.

[h] Rom. 4.

of the heart being lightened and renewed by grace doth daily more and more, by desire and delight of heauenly thinges, aspire to the imitation and participation of Christes resurrection. The force of sinne then being quenched by Christes dying vnto sinne, and his rising againe vnto righteousnesse, the power of death is abolished by the pardoning and decreasing of our sinnes; that being nowe the passage to glorie for all repenters, which before was the gate to hell for all transgressors. In his owne person Christ shewed his conquest ouer death, not by keeping his flesh from death, which he could easilie haue done, but by saueing it from rotting in the sepulchre, and by raising it againe into an immortall and glorious state: that death being swallowed vp by the power of his life, hee might take from vs the feare of death, whiles here wee liue: and change the curse of death, making it nowe a [1] rest from all labours, which before was an entrance into perpetuall paine. This enemie, because he doth least harme, shall bee last destroied: euen at the daie of the generall resurrection, and not before; and serueth now rather to represse sinne, then to reuenge sinne; the godlie being by death deliuered from the committing, louing, or feating sinne; and the wisedome of God prouiding, that as sinne brought death into the world; so death should abolish sinne out of the worlde. This is briefly the victorie, that Christ obtained against sinne and death, by his dying and rising from the dead. His conquest ouer hell, as it is more questioned, and more expected, so will I not refuse to shew you, what I thinke maie be safelie beleued, and must not rashlie be reiected of any christian.

[1] Reuel. 14

In vaine is all that christ did for vs, if hel be not cõquered.

The conquest of Christ ouer hell and Satan may bee no way doubted by any diuine, that rightly handleth the mysterie of our saluation. In vaine do we speake of releasing sinne, or despising death, if the right of hell to vs, and power of hell ouer vs doe still remaine. And therefore the verie ground of Christs conquering sinne and death, is his subduing of hell and Satan, that they should lay no chalenge to, nor haue no force

force against the faithful. It is then on all sides accorded, that hell and Satan must be fullie conquered by Christ, before the worke of our redemption can be perfectlie settled or assured; but as well the time when, as the maner how, are somewhat questioned, and that maketh the whole matter the more needfull to be discussed. To refute euerie mans fansie that speaketh hereof, were an infinite labour; to search out a truth in this case, that maie safelie be receiued, and comfortablie embraced, if not necessarilie urged, is the summe of mine intention, and should bee the ende of your expectation; with this proviso, that no man carpe before hee rightlie conceiue; nor pronounce before hee well examine that which shall be spoken; least hee checke the Scriptures before he be ware, and condemne the whole Church of God without anie cause.

In expressing Christes conquest ouer hell and Satan, I thinke best to obserue these three things: VVHAT hee did vnto Satan and his kingdome; VVHEN; and with VVHICH PART OF HIMSELFE hee did execute this triumph. VVHAT HE DID vnto Satan, wee shall learne, by seeing what he suffered at Satans hands. Proportionable to Christs humiliation was his exaltation; and for the violence which he endured, he receiued full satisfaction. As then on the crosse Christ suffered at Satans hands, and by Satans meanes REPROCHE, RAGE, & VVRONG; so in his resurrection he reaped a triple recompence from Satan: SVBMISSION, whereby his pride was subiected vnder Christ; CAPTIVATION, whereby his rage was restrained, and himselfe chained by Christ; RESTITVTION, whereby his spoiles were diuided, and deliuered vnto Christ. When I say that Satan was SVBDVED, TIED, and SPOILED by Christ rising from the dead, let no vnsetled braine imagine, this is superstitious and popish; as I meane them, and as the Scriptures deliuer them, they are prophetical and Apostolical. And least you should thinke I delude

The methode of handling Christs descent.

Christs conquest ouer Satan had these three effects.

you with wordes, I will shewe you whence I take them; first iointlie all in one sentence, then seuerallie from sundrie places of the holie scriptures. Our Sauiour in the Gospell doth purposelie make this comparison, or vtter this parable concerning himself and the kingdom of Satan. [k]How can a man ENTER into a strong mans house, and spoile his goods, except he first BIND the strong man, and then SPOILE his house? Christ then ENTERED vpon Satans house as a CONQVERER; TIED him as the STRONGER; SPOILED him as the right OVVNER of that, which Satan vniustlie detained from him. And albeit it may not bee denied, but Christ whiles hee liued on earth, made some proofe, of his right and power, to dissolue the workes, and displace the force of Satan, from the bodies and soules of men; yet it is euident that the full demonstration of his victorie, and perfection of his glorie were reserued to the time of his resurrection, when he brake the chaines and sorrowes of death and hell, and ascended to his father, not onelie clothed with honour, and immortalitie, but armed with power and principalitie; [l] all knees bowing vnto him, in heauen, earth and hell, and all tongues confessing that Iesus was the Lord, to the glorie of God. These verie parts of Christs conquest ouer Satan, the Apostle doth compryse in one sentence to the Colossians, saying: Christ [m] SPOILED powers and principalities, and made A SHEVV of them openlie, TRIVMPHING ouer them in his owne person. That powers and principalities in this place doe signifie wicked and sinfull spirites there can bee no question; those names in the scriptures are proper to Angels, bee they good or badde; as Roman. 8 vers. 38. Ephes. 3. vers. 10. & 6. vers. 12. Colos. 1. vers. 16 1. Peter. 3. vers. 22. And heere must needes import euill Angels, because Christ had no cause to conquere or spoile the elect Angels, which serued him, and ministred vnto him; but the badde that impugned his trueth, and enuied his glorie. Ouer those then Christ TRIVMPHED

The proofe of these three by the scriptures

[k] Mat. 12. Mark 3.

[l] Phil. 2.

[m] Colos. 2.

as

as a conquerer; those hee OPENLIE SHEVVED as captiues bounde with chains; those he STRIPT OR SPOILED of the goodes which they had vnlawfullie gotten. And this the Apostle saith he did execute in his owne person, as a triumph fit for the sonne of God, [n] all things being subiected vnder his feete, yea, [o] Angels, powers, and mights subdued vnto him, when he ascended into heauen.

[n] 1. Cor. 15.
[o] 1. Peter. 3.

And though some late translators, to decline the descent of Christ to hell after death, doe imagine that the wicked Angels were CONQVERED, SHEVVED and SPOILED by Christ in his suffering the paines of hell on the crosse; and to that ende doe alter the ancient and constant reading of the text, putting in steade of ἐν ἀυτῷ in his owne person, ἐν ᾧ ἀυτῷ in the same crosse; yet since both scriptures and fathers with one consent doe contradict that daungerous speculation, I maie not admitte it as consonant, either to the faith or truth of the Scriptures. For the conquest which Christ had ouer Satan and his kingdome, was not by RESISTING, much lesse by SVFFERING the assaults of hell. He is no conquerer that with much adoe saueth himselfe and his from the furie of his enemies; but hee that subdueth and treadeth his aduersaries vnder his feete, and so maistreth them, that hee may dispose of them at his will, he is truly called a conquerer. And since the Apostle saith, Christ SPOILED the powers of darknes, and made AN OPEN SHEVV of them, and TRIVMPHED ouer them, it is an euident wrong to Christ to thinke that all the conquest hee had ouer them, was at length to REPELL them; with mightie feares and cries TO SCAPE their force. Yea the redemption of mankind is altogither vncertain and vnsufficient, if our head being God and man, could doe no more but by long struggling wind himselfe out of Satans clawes. We must confesse an other kind of conquest, before the kingdome of Christ can ouerrule all as it must; and his Church bee secure from the gates of hell;

On the crosse Christ obtained his triumph, but he executed it at his resurrectiō

to wit, that [p] ALL POVVER in heauen and earth was giuen vnto him; that [q] EVERIE KNEE in heauen, and earth, and hell bowed vnto him; that he had and hath THE [r] KEYES of death and OF HELL; and could [s] RVLE his enemies with a rodde of yron, and breake them like a potters vessell; that by his death, hee [t] DESTROIED him, that was the ruler of death, euen the diuell. This conquest Christ purchased by his passion, but he did not execute it till his resurrection; otherwise he could not haue died, if death on the crosse had beene throughlie conquered. But hee was humbled and exinanited on the crosse, euen vnto death, that he might after in his resurrection bee exalted, and replenished with all honour, power, and principalitie, in heauen, earth and hell. Howbeit of the time VVHEN hee triumphed, wee shall afterwarde speake; we nowe obserue VVHAT hee did in his triumph ouer hell and Satan; and by the Scriptures wee finde that Christ ENTERED Satans house, TIED him, and SPOILED his goodes; or as the Apostle expresseth it, hee SPOILED POVVERS & PRINCIPALITIES, MADE AN OPEN SHEVV of them, and TRIVMPHED OVER THEM IN HIS OVVNE PERSON.

[p] Mat. 28.
[q] Philip. 2
[r] Reuel. 1.
[s] Psal 2.
[t] Heq. 2.

And least I be thought to pretend an ancient and vniforme reading of Paules wordes in this place without iust proofe, let vs see what ancient fathers haue followed the same. The Siriacke translation of the newe Testament, which is of no small antiquitie, readeth [u] IN SEMETIPSO, IN HIS OVVNE PERSON, as I doe. So do Origen, *in Epistola ad Romanos, lib. 5. cap. 5.* Epiphanius *in Anchorato, & contra Pneumatomacheos hæres. 74.* Chrysostome *homil. 6. in 2. ca. ad Colos.* and Theodoret likewise *in 2. cap. ad Colos.* Of the Latine Fathers, in whome if mate better bee distinguished, the booke *de Trinitate* vnder Tertullians name, Augustine *contra* Faustum: *lib. 16. cap. 29. & Epistola 59.* Hilarius *de Trinitate. lib. 1. & lib. 9.* Fulgentius *ad* Thrasimundum. *lib. 3.* Hieronymus *in cap. 2. ad Colos.* Ambrose vpon the same place,

[u] Colos. 2. The fathers read *in semetipso* in his own person, and those ỳ reade ἐν ἑαυτῷ applie it to Christ, & not to the crosse, saue onelie Oecumenius.

Ruffinus

Ruffinus *in Symbolum Apostolicum*, and so throughout the Latine Church without anie dissenting. Onelie the Greeke collections vnder Oecumenius name, referre that triumph which saint Paul here speaketh of, to the Crosse, saying that Christ shamed and confounded the diuell on the crosse, in that he was openlie crucified in the eies of all the people. And although I condemne not the sense as false, that Christ wrestled with Satan on the crosse, and euen there ouermastred his power, yet that Christ had no further or greater triumph ouer hell and Satan, then by dying on the crosse in the sight of men, doth vtterlie abolish the glorie of his resurrection, and contradicteth the whole course of the scriptures. By his suffering and dying on the crosse; hee deserued and purchased the exaltation, and triumph which he had afterwards, when he rose from the dead; and euen before he died, he was fullie assured, that neither his soule should be left in hell, nor his flesh see corruption; but that God would raise him again, and giue him all power in heauen and earth; and make all knees in heauen, earth, and hell to bow vnto him, and place him at his right hand in the brightnesse of eternall glorie. It may therefore be confessed & beleeued, that Christ ouerthrew Satan on the crosse; and so triumphed in spirit against him, or had a spirituall triumph ouer him, as Dauid foretolde, when he said in the person of Christ; Mine heart was glad, and my tongue ioyfull, yea my flesh shall rest in hope; but that the glorie of his resurrection did not farre excell the shame of his passion, and that his rising from the deade was no more victorious and triumphant, then his yeelding himselfe vnto death, is directlie repugnant to the truth of the scriptures. Though he were [x] CRVCIFIED THROVGH INFIRMITIE, yet liueth he (saith Paul) through THE POVVER of God. So that to die, euen in Christ, was infirmitie, though voluntarie; to liue againe as hee liueth in the height of celestiall glorie, was a cleare demonstration of the power of God in him. [y] He was declared to be the son of God, in

Oecumenius in 2. cap. ad Colos.

Christs resurrectiō was a far more glorious triumph ouer Satan, then his passion was.

[x] 2. Cor. 13.

[y] Rom. 1.

in power by the resurrection from the dead. Insomuch that
[z] 1.Cor.15. if Christ had died, and not risen againe, his conquest had not beene worth the speaking of. [z] If Christ bee not raised, your faith is in vaine, saith Paule; and ye are yet in your sinnes. Christes death then without his resurrection had béene a full conquest of Satan ouer Christ, and all his members. That which Paule sayeth, is true, as well
[a] *Ibidem.* in Christ as in vs; [a] It is sowen in dishonour, it is raised in glorie; it is sowen in VVEAKENESSE, it is raised in power. Since then in the death and crosse of Christ the holie ghost
[b] Heb.13. [c] Heb.12. noteth [b] reproach, [c] shame and weakenesse; wee do foulie erre, if wee ascribe no greater, nor other triumph to Christ ouer death and hell, then his crosse and passion.
[d] Luke.24. [d] These things Christ was to suffer, and (so) to enter into his glorie; but we must make as great difference betwixt his dying, and his rising againe, as wee would betwixt his weakenesse and his power; his conflict, and his conquest; his depression, and his exaltation; his suffering in reproch, and his raigning in glorie.

For the better euidence whereof, you shall see the holie scriptures at large expresse the verie same parts, and the verie same time, which I obserued vnto you. [e] Christ humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the crosse. WHEREFORE God also highly EXALTED him, and gaue him a name aboue euery name, that at the name of Iesus euery KNEE SHOVLD BOVV, of things IN HEAVEN IN EARTH, AND BENEATH THE EARTH. Vnder the earth are no reasonable creatures to kneele to Christs person and scepter, but the damned spirits and soules in hell, except we take holde of Purgatorie, or Limbus patrum; the elect in heauen doe willinglie serue him; such as liue on earth, doe endure his iustice or loue his mercie; the spirits beneath doe finde his truth, and feele his hand; the most aduerse acknowledge his name, and feare his force. This exaltation of Christ to raigne ouer heauen, earth and hell,
[e] Phil.2.

The cause and time of christs triumph.

same

came after his death, as being the reward and effect of his obedience vnto death. So saith the Apostle. He humbled himselfe, and became obedient to the death, euen the death of the Crosse. WHEREFORE (or for which cause) God highlie exalted him, that in the name of Iesus all knees in heauen, earth and hell should bowe. Then on the crosse, or afore his death the time was not yet come, that Christ should be thus exalted; but there rather was the time and place of his humiliation; and when he rose againe, [f] all power in heauen and earth was giuen vnto him. [g] I was dead (saith hee himselfe) and behold I am aliue for euermore; and I HAVE THE KEIES OF HELL AND OF DEATH; that is all power ouer death and hell, to [h] shut and no man may open; to open, and no man may shut. The Prophet Esay pointeth to the verie same CAVSE and TIME of Christes exaltation. [i] BECAVSE he hath powred out his soule vnto death: THEREFORE will I giue him his portion with the great, and hee shall diuide the spoiles with the mightie. If FOR THAT CAVSE; then AFTER THAT TIME, Christ diuided the spoyles of the mightie; or (as the Apostle speaketh) hee spoyled powers and principalities. And noting exactlie the TIME of Christes triumph, the Apostle saith ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος, ASCENDING ON HIGH, HE LED CAPTIVITIE CAPTIVE. This that hee ascended, what meaneth it, but that hee first descended into the lower partes of the earth? Christ did not leade captiuitie captiue, when hee descended into the lower partes of the earth, but when hee ascended from thence. The Diuels then which held vs in captiuitie, were themselues leade captiue, when Christ ascended from the lower partes of the earth; and then were powers and principalities SPOILED, and openlie SHEWED, Christ TRIVMPHING OVER THEM, not on the Crosse at the time of his passion; but IN HIS OVVNE PERSON, at the time of his resurrection and ascension.

[f] Math. 28.
[g] Reuel. 1.
[h] Reuel. 3.
[i] Esay. 53.
[k] Ephes. 4.

An effect of this triumph is this, that an Angell was sent (in
[l]Reuel.20. the Reuelation of Saint Iohn) from heauen hauing the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand. And hee tooke the Dragon that olde Serpent, which is the diuel & Satan, and bound him a thousand yeares. And cast him into the bottomles pit, and shut him vp, and sealed vpō him, that he should deceiue the people no more. If a messenger from Christ had this power ouer Satan, to binde him, and shut him vp, what commaund then had Christ himselfe ouer hell and Satan? And how wholesome and gladsome a thing is it for vs to beléeue and confesse, that Christ Iesus our Lord and sauiour hath Satan, and all the powers of hell chained at his will, and by his conquest ouer them so ruleth and restraineth them that they can not stirre but by his leaue and appointment; and thus shall he hold them captiue, till hee deliuer the kingdome to God his father, and throughly tread both death and Satan vnder our feete. This doctrine I trust maintaineth no superstition, but sound and true religion, as well touching the partes, as the time of Christs conquest and triumph ouer death and hell.

It resteth now to search what part of Christ had this triumph ouer hell; for so much as Christ consisted of two na-
Christs manhood must triumph and not his Godhead. tures, diuine, and humane; & his manhood by death was then diuided into two places, the bodie being separate from the soule, and lying in the dust of the earth, but without corruption. And first, we must not referre this triumph to his diuine nature; by reason it was no maisterie for god to conquer
[m]Gen.3. his vassall. The [m] seede of the woman must bruize the serpents heade, and not the maker of heauen and earth with his almightie power & maiestie. Besides the godhead of Christ coulde neither truly DESCEND, nor ASCEND; as being euery where present; nor be EXALTED as being equall with the highest, nor RECEIVE GIFT, as hauing all fulnes in it: but that nature which led captiuity captiue, did first DESCEND into ỹ lower parts of the earth, & after ASCENDED, & was EXAL-

TED

TED, AND RECEAVED this power and honour as a GIFT from God, in respect of his obedience, patience, and humilitie. The places are before alleaged, there is no neede to repeat them. It was then Christes humane nature, which God so highlie EXALTED for his former obedience vnto death, and to which all power was giuen in heauen and earth; his diuine was euer in euen degree with his father, full of maiestie, power and glorie. It is not to be neglected, that Ireneus saith. [n] *Si homo non vicisset inimicum hominis, non iustè victus esset inimicus*. If a man had not ouercome the enemie of man, the enemie had not lawfully beene ouercome. Which proposition of iustice the Apostle vrgeth, when he saith; as [o] by a man came death, so by a man came the resurrection of the dead. Since then the humane nature of Christ by condition might, and by desert must bee exalted aboue all creatures; and by the rule of iustice had the conquest of Satan and his kingdome; it is no harde matter to discerne, which part of Christs manhood must ouerthrow death, and which must triumph ouer hell. The bodie of man, whiles the first death lasteth, is not due to hell; it must lie dead and senseleſſe in the earth; and so can neither liue, nor feele the paines of hell. Christes bodie then lying in the graue without SENSE, MOTION, OR LIFE, could haue no conquest ouer hell; ouer death it had, being preserued in the graue without all corruption; and raised from the deade to a blessed and immortall state without all imperfection: Ouer hel it had none, because that part of Christ which did conquere hel, must haue as well MOTION TO DESCEND thither, and POWER TO REPRESSE there the rage of Satã; as also LIFE AND SENSE TO SPOILE powers and principalities, and by leading them captiue to make an open shewe of them; from al which, the first death kept the bodie of Christ; till the time that his soule ascending with triumph from hell, take his body from death, and so made a perfect conquest ouer hell and death, not onlie for his owne person, to whome all power was giuen

[n] *Irenæus. lib. 3. cap. 20.*

[o] *1. Corinth. 15*

And in his manhood the soule, not the bodie, which lay dead in earth.

in heauen and earth, but for his members also, for whose safety he toke from Satan the keyes of hell, and of death, that
p Rom. 14 he himselfe might be p Lord of the dead & the liuing. So that now the power of hell is destroied, and Satan restrained,
q Matth. 16. and the faithfull freed from all feare, & assured that q the gates of hel shal not preuaile against them. And this is that victorie,
r Osee. 13 which God threatened to death and hell by his prophet, saying: r I will redeeme them from THE POVVER OF HEL; I will deliuer them from death. O death I will be thy death: O HEL I VVIL BE THY DESTRVCTION; repentance is hid from mine eyes.

Whether Christs descēt to hel be written in the scriptures, or no.

So agreeable is this doctrine to the christian faith, & so comfortable to all the godly, that few would refuse it, except such as are waspishlie wedded to their owne fansies; if it might appeare where this is written in the scriptures. The which desire of religious mindes, whiles I labor to satisfie, I must forwarne them, how easie it is for cōtentious spirits to frustrate the strength of all that God saith, if they may be suffered with diuerse significations, & figuratiue interpretations, to elude when they list, the words of the holie ghost, & decline the literall & proper sense of the diuine oracles at their pleasures. This rule therefore must be holde throughout the scriptures, that in mysteries of religion, we diuert not from the natiue & proper significations of the wordes, but when the letter impugneth the grounds of christian faith & charity. Otherwise we shal leaue nothing sound & sure in the word of God; if we may auoid al things by figures that please not our humors.

s *Augustin. de doctri. Christiana. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

s To this lesson, (saith Austen) whereby wee take heede not to interpret a figuratiue speach, as if it were proper; we must adde an other, that wee take not a proper speach, as if it were figuratiue. First then we must shewe the meane, how to finde out whether the speach bee figuratiue or proper. And this is the way to discerne them;

t *Ibidem.*

t *vt quicquid in sermone diuino, neque ad morum honestatem, neque ad fidei veritatem proprie referri potest, figuratum esse cognoscas*; that whatsoeuer in the diuine scripture

scripture CANNOT PROPERLY be referred to the honestie of maners, or to the verity of faith, thou maist be sure it is FIGVRATIVE. So long then as the proper sense of the scriptures may stand with the Analogy of faith, and direction of charity; we offer violence to the word of God, if wee wrest it to a figuratiue vnderstanding.

From this rule, (which must be obserued throughout the body of the scripture,) if we do not rashly slide; it is no harde matter to shew where Christes descent to hell is expressie recorded in the scriptures. The words are well known, & often alleaged, if men were not disposed to peruert, or elude them with their enigmaticall & allegoricall constructions. [u] Thou VVILT NOT FORSAKE MY SOVLE IN HELL, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruptiō. If Christs soule in hel were assisted with the glorious power and presence of God; ergo Christes soule VVAS in hel. And THERE it could not be, without DESCENDING THITHER. The descent then of Christes soule into hell, when it was seuered from the bodie, is apparantly witnessed in the scriptures, howsoeuer the diuers conceits of men doe diuerslie expound it. To take the SOVLE for the CARCAS; & HEL for the GRAVE, (as some do) if it be not a wrested exposition, I am sure it is not the proper interpretation of the words; and therefore in mysteries of faith by no meanes to be admitted. To let the soule retaine her true signification, and by hell to meane paradise (where others defend the soule of Christ was al the time, that his bodie lay in the graue;) if it be not a misconstruction, it is no literall exposition of the place, and in my iudgement a verie strange kind of figure it is, to expresse Christs ascent into Paradise, by his descent into hell; & so to expound the words of the Creed, that we draw them to a cleane contrary sense. If therefore we leaue forcing & wresting the words of the holy ghost, & let their proper & true signification stand, as wel ỹ words, as the circumstances will exactly proue that ỹ soule of Christ after death DESCENDED INTO HEL. That this was performed after Christ was dead, and consequently when

[u] Psal. 16. Acts, 2. The words are plaine enough if we wrest the not from their proper sense.

when his soule was seuered from his bodie, there can bee no question, as I haue shewed before; for that Christ saieth, his flesh * SHAL LIE DOVVN (or take rest in the tabernacle of his graue) IN HOPE that God VVIL NOT FORSAKE HIS SOVLE IN HEL; and in this hope Christ died: this assistance was therfore giuen him after death. That his soule must be taken properlie for that part, which after death saw the power and presence of God not forsaking him, as well the separation of the bodie, as fruition of Gods assistance do plainelie proue. Whiles we liue, the bodie or soule may rightlie import the whole man; but after death it is more then absurd to take the soule for the bodie, or the bodie for the soule: yea in men here liuing, wee must take héede that in matters of doctrine we mistake not the one for the other. In matters of fact, to note the person by either part, can be no danger; but in their attributes and properties, to confounde them, is to leaue nothing certaine in christian religion. Tertullian saith truly. y *Certe peruersissimũ, vt carnem nominantes animã intelligamus; & animam significantes, carnẽ interpretemur. Omnia periclitabuntur aliter accipi, quam sunt; & amittere quod sunt, dum aliter accipiuntur: si aliter, quam sunt, cognominantur. Fides nominum salus est proprietatum.* It is most peruerse, that the flesh being named, wee should vnderstande the soule, or the soule being signified, wee should interpret it for the flesh. All thinges shall be in danger to bee otherwise taken then they are, and to loose that they are, while they are mistaken, if wee call them by other names then their owne. The distinction of their names is the preseruation of their properties. And yet in these wordes the case is cléere. For heere are both partes expressed and distinguished as well by their NATVRES, and PLACES, as by their NAMES. Christs soule was not forsaken in hell, but enioyed the glorious assistance of God, euen there, where God forsaketh all others: Christes flesh lying dead without sense in the graue, was there preserued from all corruption. For Dauid, saith Peter, z spake of Christs

* Psal. 16.

The soule must not be taken for the bodie, though man may be signified by either.

y Tertullian. de carne Christi. cap. 13.

z Acts. 2.

Christs resurrection, that his SOVLE was not forsaken, (or left) in hel, nor his FLESH saw corruption. [a] *Quum dividit species, carnem & animam, duo ostendit*, saith Tertullian. When (the scripture) deuideth the kindes, as the soule and the flesh, it noteth two distinct things. Since then Peter doth not onlie so repoze, but so interpzet Dauids wozdes, that hee spake of Christs soule and Christs flesh; it is euident they must be two distinct and different thinges, both in Dauids pzediction, and in Peters application.

[a] *Tertullian. de carne Christi. cap. 13*

Againe in these wozds is not compzised the generall state of the dead common to Christ with all other, but a speciall pzerogatiue verified in none, but in the true Messias and Saulour of the wozlde. Foz neither of these was euer accomplished in anie, but in Christ. Then as no flesh in the sepulchze was euer free from corruption, but onlie Christs; so no soule in hell was euer suppozted and assisted by God, and not forsaken, but onely Christes. If by hell, wee vnderstand Paradise; it was no pziuiledge to be there not forsaken, but rather a childish absurditie to thinke that any soule might there be forsaken; and so no cause foz Christ so strongly to hope, and so greatly to reioice, that HIS SOVLE should not bee forsaken, where it was impossible, that anie soule should be forsaken: but this is rather a iust grounde of exceeding ioie, if where all soules were forsaken of God, as in hell they are; there Christes soule should not be forsaken, but assisted with the might and maiestie of God, to breake the force, and tread the power of hell vnder his fæt. And this pzooueth Christes resurrection moze stronglie, (foz which cause Dauid spake it) then if wee applie the name of hell to the state of Paradise. Foz if Christ did rise againe without corruption, because his soule was not forsaken of God in Paradise; then all the soules that rise not in like maner, are forsaken of God, though they still remaine in the rest and cõfort of Paradise; which is a palpable falsity, if not impietie. But if neither the graue could corrupt his flesh, noz hell detaine his soule; what better assurance could be brought of his

The circumstances proue the words must be properly taken.

resurrection, then that neither death could dissolue his bodie into dust, nor hell preuaile against his soule. And this I take to be S. Peters reason when hee saith to the Iewes: [b] Iesus of Nazareth haue ye taken by the handes of the wicked, & crucified, and slaine: whom God raised againe, BREAKING THE SORROVVES OF DEATH, in as much as it was IMPOSSIBLE he should BE HELD THEREOF. God made way for Christ to rise againe by BREAKING THE SORROVVES OF DEATH before him, that they should not hinder him. Christes bodie lying dead in the graue, & lacking sense could haue no sorrow. In Paradise a place of rest & ioie, if his soule were there, much lesse may we imagine any sorrow. Since then the sepulchre hath no SENSE where Christs flesh lay; & Paradise hath NO SORROVV; the SORROVVES OF DEATH must needes be referred to the paines of hel, which were all loosed and dissolued before Christ, because IT VVAS IMPOSSIBLE THEY SHOVLD TAKE HOLD OF HIM.

[b] Actes. 2.

[But Peter, they will say, nameth the SORROVVES OF DEATH, and not of hell:] as if the name of death did not extende, as well to the [c] SECOND DEATH, which is hell, as to the first, which is the dissolution of nature? and THE SORROVVES OF THE FIRST DEATH Christ apparantly suffered, as much as any man; and they ended with death, they dured not after death. But in Peters wordes the sorrows of death were broken at Christs resurrection. God [d] raised him vp, loosing the sorrowes (or paines) of death. Wherefore the SORROVVES OF THE SECOND DEATH must necessarilie be vnderstoode; & those were all broken and dissolued before Christ, by reason his soule was not forsaken in hell, but vnited vnto God, & aided by the mighty hand of God, to tread vpon al the power of the aduersary, & in his own person to triumph ouer Satan, and al the strength of the kingdom of darknes.

[c] Apoc. 2 20. 21. Death is either the first or the second

[d] Actes. 2.

Lastly howsoeuer some presumers on their Hebrew may wrangle with the word Sheôl in Dauids speach, thou wilt not forsake my soule in hel: yet the worde ἅδης, by which S. Luke expresseth Dauids meaning, doth properly import in the new testa-

The word ἅδης by which S. Luke expresseth Dauids meaning

testament the place of the damned. I remit poets & Pagans vsing that word after their prophane imagination, to the allegers; in what sense the Euangelists and Apostles take it, will soone appeare by their writings. [c] Vpō this Rock (saith Christ) will I build my church, & the gates ᾅδου (of hel) shal not preuaile against it. The church doth not assure the godly, that they shall not die; but, that the gates of the [f] second death shal not hurt thē. When the merciles rich man died & was buried, as wee read in the gospel of S. Luke, ỹ scripture saith [g] καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ, & being in hel, in TORMENTS, he lift vp his eies, and saw *Abrahā* a far off, & Lazarus in his bosome. I hope the soule of this rich man, was neither in the graue, nor in paradise, but plainelie IN HEL, euen in the [h] PLACE OF TORMENTS, where no mercy can be shewed, nor release hoped for; and that place & state of the damned S. Luke calleth ᾅδης, and our Sauior expressing it, maketh the rich man most truly to saie; [i] I AM TORMENTED IN THIS FLAME; S. Iohn in his Reuelation noting the coherence of death and hell in the destruction of the wicked, saith. [k] Behold, a pale horse, and his name, that sate thereon was death, & (ᾅδης) HEL FOLLOVVED AFTER HIM, and power was giuen THEM ouer the fourth part of ỹ earth. After death followeth none other death, but HEL, which is the second death, and ỹ as it commeth AFTER the death of the body; so is it distinguished from the death of the bodie, because it killeth the soule for euer; and that S. Iohn calleth ᾅδης. He doth the like in the 20. chap. of the same booke. The [l] sea (saith he) gaue vp her dead, which were in her, & death & (ᾅδης) HEL deliuered vp her dead, that were in them, and death & (ᾅδης) HEL were cast into ỹ lake of fire; this is the second death. When our sauiour then saith, I haue ỹ keies of death, [m] (καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου) & of hel, he doth not onlie mean the graues of dead bodies are subiected to his power, but the place and paines of damned soules are likewise at his disposition. And when Paule saith; O death, where is thy sting (ᾅδη) ὁ hel where is thy victory? he teacheth vs that God hath giuen vs the victory ouer DEATH AND HEL, through our Lord Iesus Christ. That victorie Christ could not make

d oth alwaies note hel in the new testament
[c] Matth. 16
[f] Reuelat. 2.
[g] Luke. 16
[h] *Ibidem. ver.* 23
[i] *Ibidem. ver.* 24
[k] Reuel. 6.
[l] Reuelat. 20
[m] Reuel. 1
[n] 1. Corinth. 15

vs partakers of, except hee had first triumphed ouer them both in his owne person. And that victorie Christ did foresee and foreshew, when he said to God, thou wilt not forsake my soule (εἰς ᾅδην) in hell; (or leaue it to the power of hell;) but assist me there, and bring me thence with safetie and victory.

The church from the beginning hath confessed Christs descent to hell.

If my collections were not allowed by the scriptures; the generall faith and confession of all the fathers in all ages and countries, since the first foundation of Christs church, should moue men that are modest, not hastelie to leape from the vniuersall consent of al places, and persons grounding themselues on the manifest words of the sacred scriptures. To quote them all, were to increase another volume; I will therefore content my selfe with shewing you, how soone it began, and howe long it continued in the church of Christ, to be receaued and beleeued as a matter of faith. Thaddæus one of the 70. disciples, mentioned in the tenth of Luke, taught the citizens of Edessa, within ten yeares after Christs death, amongst other points of faith, as Eusebius reporteth,

[o] *Euseb. eccles. hist. histor. lib. 1 cap. 13.*

[o] *Quomodo* (Christus) *crucifixus fuerit, & ad inferos descenderit, sepemque illam antea nunquam diruptam fouerit: resurrexerit etiam, ac mortuos qui à seculo dormierant, vnà excitauerit; & quomodo solus quidem descenderit, multâ vero turbâ comitatus ad patrem ipsius ascenderit.* Howe Christ was crucified, and descended into hell, and ouerthrew the wall, which was neuer before that time broken; and rose againe, and raised vp with him those ỹ had bin dead long before; & how he descẽded alone, but ascended vp to his father with a great multitude. This report by some men is counted fabulous, for ỹ the letters sent to Christ and receaued from him by the ruler of that city, are no where remembred in the Euangelists: but by their leaues that reason is rather friuolous: for so much as S. Iohn saith; [p] There are also many other thinges, which Iesus did, the which if they should be writtẽ euery one, I suppose the world could not containe the bookes, that should be written. Since then this is no sure ground to reiect a story, for that it is not contained in

[p] Iohn. 21

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the scriptures, I see no cause either to preiudice the publike and ancient records of the citie of Edessa, remaining at that verie time when this report was made; or to mistrust the credite of Eusebius, as if he had impudentlie forged the olde monuments of that citie, where he might so easilie bee reproued. His words are. ¶ *Habes harum rerum testimonium scriptis comprehensum, & ex Grammatophylacio vrbis* Edessæ *tunc regiæ desumptum. Nam in ipsis publicis chartis, quæ res priscas continent, ista ad hunc vsq; diem ex eo tempore seruata reperiuntur. Nihil autem impedit, quo minus literas ipsas, quæ nobis ex Archiuis desumptæ, & e Syrorum lingua his verbis translatæ sunt, audiamus.* Thou hast the testimonie of these thinges compriſed in writing, and taken out of the chamber of *Edessa*, that then was a princely Citie. For in the publike recordes, of things auncientlie past, thus much is there extant TO THIS VERIE DAY, preserued from the time wherein these things were done. And I thinke it best to set downe the letters, which I my selfe COPIED out of the Authentick records, and TRANSLATED from the Syrian tongue in these wordes. How the report of a writer, ẏ is not canonical, should haue more credite then this hath, I know not. The records were auncient and publique, and then extant to be viewed by euerie man, when Eusebius did exemplifie them. If wee discredite all antiquitie and testimonie which wee see not with our owne eies; wee must looke to receiue the like rewarde from our posteritie. Ignatius that liued with, and after the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Church of Trallis, confesseth the same Article, almost in the same words. καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδην μόνος. Christ descended into Hell alone, and returned (or rose againe) with a greate number, and brake downe the rampiere that had stoode from the beginning, and ouerthrewe the mid-wall thereof. Athanasius present at the great councell of Nice as a Clergie man, though not then a Bishop, in his short recapitulation of the Catholike faith, addeth this Article, as necessarie to be be-

¶ *Euseb. ibid.*

Ignatius ad Trallianos.

leaued of all Christians. [r] *Passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: hæc est fides Catholica quam nisi quis firmiter fideliterq; crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.* Christ suffered for our saluation, descended into hell, rose againe the third day from the dead. This is the Catholike faith, which except a man doe firmelie and fastlie beleeue he cannot bee saued. Saint Austen doth so protest it, that hee pronounceth it infidelitie to denie it. [s] *Secundum animam* (Christum) *apud inferos fuisse aperte scriptura declarat, & per Prophetam præmissa, & per Apostolicum intellectum satis expositæ, qua dictum est, non derelinques animam meam in inferno.* That Christ according to his soule was in hell, the Scripture plainelie declareth, foretspoken by the Prophet (*Dauid*) and sufficientlie expounded by the Apostles application, where it was saide, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. [t] *Quis ergo nisi infidelis negauerit fuisse apud inferos Christum?* Who then but an infidell will denie, that Christ was in Hell? Hilarius maketh it a necessarie cause of our redemption. [u] *Crux, mors, inferi, salus nostra est.* Christes Crosse, death, and beeing in Hell, are the meanes of our saluation. For as hee died that wee might liue, so hee went to hell by Hilaries assertion, that wee might goe to heauen. [x] *Christus Dei filius moritur, sed omnis caro viuificatur in Christo. Dei filius in inferis est, sed homo refertur ad cœlum.* Christ the sonne of God dieth, but all flesh is quickened in Christ. The sonne of God is in Hell, but man is restored to Heauen. And least wee shoulde thinke that Hilarie dreamed of Christes suffering hell paines on the Crosse, as some haue alledged him; his wordes are plaine else where, that Christs soule after death descended into hell. [y] *Humana ista lex necessitatis est, vt sepultis corporibus ad inferos animæ descendant. Quam descensionem, Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non recusauit.* This is the lawe of mans miserie, that their bodies goe to the graue, their soules to hell: WHICH DESCENT the Lorde did not refuse, to

[r] *Athanas. in Symbolo.*

[s] *August. epist. 99.*

[t] *Ibidem.*

[u] *Hilarius de trinitat. lib. 2.*

[x] *Ibid. lib 3.*

[y] *Hilarius in Psal. 138.*

proone

prooue himselfe in euerie point to bee a true man. This necessitie was the wages of mans sinne; the strength whereof coulde none abolish but onelie Christ. [z] *Hic vnus est, aduersantes nobis inimicasque virtutes ligno passionis affigens, mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostræ fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptionem humanæ carnis gloria corporis sui perimens.* Christ alone was hee that fastened to the wood of his passion the powers which were aduersaries and enemies to vs; that vanquished death euen in hell; that confirmed the stedfastnesse of our hope with his resurrection, and abolished the corruption of mans flesh with the glorie of his bodie. Leo likewise. [a] *Resurrectio saluatoris, nec animam in inferno, nec carnem diu moxata est in sepulchro; quoniam deitas, quæ ab vtraque suscepti hominis substantia non recessit, quod potestate diuisit, potestate coniunxit.* The resurrection of our Sauiour neither stayed his soule long in hell, nor his flesh in the graue; because his Godhead which did not depart from either part of his manhoode, mightilie conioyned, what it mightilie seuered.

[z] *Idem de trinit. lib. 4.*

[a] *Leo de resur. domini, serm. 1.*

But no man hath more pithilie, or more soundlie deliuered the full course, and cause of Christes descent to Hell, then Fulgentius; which I muste repeate at large, because euerie worde is worth the marking. [b] *Restabat ad plenum nostræ redemptionis effectum, vt illuc vsque homo sine peccato à Deo susceptus descenderet, quousque homo separatus à Deo peccati merito cecidisset: id est ad infernum, vbi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, & ad sepulchrum, vbi consueuerat peccatoris caro corrumpi: sic tamen, vt nec Christi caro in sepulchro corrumperetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima immunis à peccato non erat subdenda supplicio, & carnem sine peccato non debuit vitiare corruptio. Nam quia peccans homo meruit in seipso per supplicium diuidi, quia maluit à Deo præuaricationis reatu disiungi, propterea factum est, vt peccatoris mors carnem peccati ad sepulchrum corrumpendam perduceret, animam*

[b] *Fulgentius de passione domini ad Trasim. lib. 3*

mam inferno torquendam protinus manciparet. Vt autem peccator fuisset gratuito munere liberatus, factum est, vt mortem corporis, quam à Deo iusto peccator homo pertulerat iuste, Dei filius a peccatore pateretur iniuste: & ad sepulchrum perueniret caro iusti, quousque fuerat caro deuoluta peccati: & vsq; ad infernum descenderet anima saluatoris, vbi peccati merito torquebatur anima peccatoris. Hoc autem ideo factum est, vt per morientem temporaliter carnem iusti, donaretur vita æterna carni: & per descendentem ad infernum animam iusti, dolores soluerentur inferni. It remained for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed of God without sinne, shoulde thither descend, whither man seuered from God fell by desert of sinne: that is, vnto hell, where the soule of the sinner was woont to bee tormented, and to the graue, where the flesh of the sinner was woont to bee corrupted; yet so, that neither Christes flesh shoulde bee corrupted in the graue, nor his soule bee tormented with the paines of hell; because the soule free from sinne was not to be subiected to that punishment, nor flesh cleane from the contagion of sinne shoulde suffer corruption. In so much as man sinning deserued by punishment to bee seuered from himselfe, who by his transgression woulde needes bee seuered from God, therefore it was appointed that the death of the sinner should bring his sinfull flesh to the graue, there to rotte; and presentlie should send his soule to hell, there to bee tormented. But when the sinner by the gift of (Gods) grace, was to bee deliuered; it was prouided, that the sonne of God should vniustlie suffer at the hands of sinners the death of the bodie, which sinfull man had iustlie beene wrapped in by the iustice of God, and the flesh of the iust should come to the graue, whither sinfull flesh was tumbled: and that THE SOVLE OF OVR SAVIOVR SHOVLD DESCEND TO HELL, VVHERE THE SINFVLL SOVLE VVAS TORMENTED FOR THE REVVARD OF SINNE. This was therefore done, that by the flesh of the iust temporally dying, eternall life might be giuen to (our) flesh, and by the soule

of

of the iust descending to hell, the torments of hell might be abolished.

Out of Fulgentius I obserue two things; which if it please men to marke, they shall cleare themselues from all absurdities touching Christs descent to hell. The first is, THE PLACE, VVHITHER he descended; the next is, THE CAVSE, VVHY he descended. The place whither hee descended was hell; whither the soule of man sinning against God was adiudged for the wages of his transgression. The cause of his descent, was to free all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the ende thereof from comming thither. And in both these, the Scriptures and fathers doe fullie concurre; though some auncient writers doe swarue, and strue about Christes deliuering some from hell, that were there at the time of his descent, as they suppose. Which varietie and vncertaintie of opinions concerning the state of the deade before Christes comming hath verie much entangled this question, and induced manie men of learning and iudgement otherwise, to reiect Christs descent to hell as a fable, or to wrest it to an other sense, with newe founde exposittions. Howbeit I see no cause, but the doctrine of the Scriptures confessed by all the fathers may stande verie cleare, whatsoeuer we resolue of this other assertion, touching the state of the righteous departed this life before Christs death. I will therefore shortly discusse both the place and the cause, and so draw to an end.

As for the place whither Christ descended, the Church of Rome greedily hunteth after it, to heare of her Purgatorie; hoping, whence the soules of the righteous were by Christ deliuered, there to make a stand for soules, not perfectlie confessed and absolued in this life; that the maie set to sale her praiers and pardons. But if thee follow Christ descending, her deuotion must reach to the place and paines of the damned, for thither Christ descended. And so by their leaues both Scriptures and fathers auouch. First the

Christ descended to ỹ place of the damned

[c] Act. 2. [d] Symbol. Apost.

wordes are plaine, and must bee proper, as well in the [c] Canon as in the [d] Creed. Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: and [d] he descended into hell. Againe the kingdom of Satan consisteth of these three; SINNE, DEATH, and HELL: SINNE RAIGNING, whiles the bodie and soule are ioined togither; DEATH SEVERING them both, and TVRNING the bodie to earth; HELL RECEIVING and TORMENTING the soule, till the date of iudgement, when bodie and soule shall for euer bee cast into hell fire. If these three bee not abolished by Christ, Satans kingdome is not destroyed by Christ; and specially if hell bee not banquished, no part of our saluation is performed. The wages of sinne is sweete, if the wages were not sower, which is hell fire. To raise our bodies from death, is no fauour, if Hell bee not ouerthrowen; it were more easie for them to lie in dust, then to burne in hell. Howe hath Christ restored vs to Heauen, if hee haue not yet freed vs from Hell? Or brought vs to God, if he haue not yet taken vs from Satan? Wherefore either Hell must bee destroyed, or wee are no waie redeemed. And in all these, when I speake of Hell, I speake of the place of the damned. For if the feare of damnation continue, what hope of saluation can wee conceiue? But the Apostle saieth plainlie, that Christ through death [e] DESTROIED HIM, that had power of death, euen the DIVELL; and DELIVERED ALL them which for feare of death were all their life time subiect to seruitude. If the DIVELL bee DESTROIED, then Hell is fullie conquered; for whiles that retaineth force against the faithfull, the Diuell is in the height of his kingdome. Neither is death to bee feared at all, but in respect of hell following after death. If then all the Saintes heere on earth be [f] DELIVERED FROM THE FEARE OF DEATH, and [g] from the handes of all that hate (them) to serue (God) without feare all the dayes of their life,

[e] Heb. 2.

To destroy the diuell, and to deliuer man.

[f] Heb. 2. [g] Luke 1.

life, in holinesse and righteousnesse before him; it is euident that hell is spoyled of all right and claime to the members of Christ, by reason our heade beeing there in our names, and for our sinnes, brake the strength of hell, abolished the power, and loosed the sorrowes and paines thereof; that they shoulde not take holde on him, nor euer after on anie of his. For as hee suffered and died, not for his owne sake, but for ours; so hee descended and loosed the sorrowes of death and hell, not as prouided for him, but for vs. And since to our sinnes was due damnation, and no lesser or easier punishment; it was requisite that Christ shoulde thither descende, and by dissoluing the wages of our sinne in his owne person, thence deliuer vs; though not there tormented, yet thither adiudged, and so release vs, not as beeing there, but from comming thither.

Touching the place, Thaddaus one of the seuentie taught, as wee heard out of Eusebius, that Christ descended into hell; and brake the wall that was neuer before broken. From the deade manie rose before Christes death, and therefore the partition betwixt death and life was often broken by others, before Christes resurrection; but from hell neuer returned anie, but onelye Christ; by reason that wall was neuer broken, but by the Sonne of GOD. Athanasius in like sorte. *In sua ad nostri similitudinem forma, nostram inibi depingens mortem, vt in ea resurrectionem pro nobis concinnaret, ex sepulchro quidē corpus, animam vero ex* ORCO *reducem faceret, vt in morte mortem dissolueret per exhibitionem animæ, & per sepulchrum corporis in sepulchro, corruptionem aboleret; ex orco verò & sepulchro immortalitatem & incorruptionem ostendit, in forma nobis consimili viam nostram emersus, nostramque detentionem relaxans, & hoc ipsum eximij miraculi fuit.* In his likenesse to our nature (Christe) accomplishing our death, that in the same hee might performe his

Whither christ descended after death.

[a] *Athanas de saluatori aduentu Christi.*

resurrection for vs, brought his BODIE OVT OF THE GRAVE, & his SOVLE OVT OF HELL; that in death he might dissolue death by presenting his soule there, and by the buriall of his bodie, he might abolish corruption in the graue. So that euen from hell, and from the graue, hee shewed immortalitie (of the soule) and incorruption (of the body) treading the verie way that we should haue trod, in the likenesse of our nature, and releasing of our detention. And this was a marueilous wonder. When Athanasius saith, that Christ in his humane nature trodde the verie same way of death that wee should haue done; his bodie and soule going to those very places whither ours should haue gone; he doth not mean the place of rest, where ỹ soules of the righteous were before Christs comming; but the place whither the souls of men were condemned for the sin of their first father; which is not Paradise, no; Abrahams bosome, but the place of the damned, where the true death of the soule and wages of sin are by Gods iustice inflicted. Heare his owne words.[i] *Vbi corruptum fuerat humanum corpus, eó suum corpus proiecit Iesus: & vbi tenebatur anima humana in morte, ibi exhibuit humanam suam animam, vt ipse inuictus à morte, tanquam hominem se præsentem ostenderet, & solueret catenas mortis vt Deus; vt vbi seminata fuerat corruptio, inde exoriretur incorruptibilitas; &* VBI REGNAVERAT MORS IN FORMA HVMANAE ANIMAE, *ibi ipse ille mortalis præsens, immortalitatem exhiberet, atq; ita* NOS PARTICIPES *redderet suæ incorruptibilitatis, & immortalitatis per spem resurrectionis ex mortuis*. Where the bodie of man vsed to rot, thither Iesus cast his body: and VVHERE THE SOVLE OF MAN VVAS HELD IN DEATH, there did he exhibite his humane soule; that hee being in no wise to bee conquered by death, might both shewe himselfe there present as man; and yet break the chaines of death as God; that where corruption was sowed, thence incorruption might rise (euen from the graue;) & where death raigned ouer mens soules (which must needes be in hell) there he being present as a mortall man, might demonstrate his immortalitie, and so

[i] *Athanas. de incarnatione Christi.*

so make vs partakers, of his incorruption (in flesh,) and immortalitie (in soule) by the hope of resurrection from the dead.

And because Hilarius and Fulgentius doe so fullie concurre with Athanasius, that if we trulie conceiue the one, we shall easilie vnderstand the other; you shall see the same doctrine, which the other two follow, more fullie deliuered by Athanasius. *Athanasius* agreeth in this point with *Hilary* and *Fulgentius*.

[k] *Qui de Adæ inobedientia quæstionem habuit, iudicioque peracto duplicem pœnam in sententia sua complexus erat, dum rei terrestri ita loquitur, Terra es, & in terram reuerteris, (atque ita pro decreto, domini corpus in terram abscedit;) animæ dixit, morte morieris; atq; hinc est, quod homo in duas partes discerpitur, et vt ad duo loca discedat, condemnatur. Ac proinde opus fuit illo ipso iudice, qui hoc decretū tulerat, vt ipse per se sententiā solueret sub specie condēnati, incondēnatū se sincerūque a peccatis ostēdens, vt hominem deo reconciliaret, hominemque totum in libertatem vindicaret. Iam si mihi alium locum condemnationis præter hos duos ostendere potestis, merito hominem dixeritis tripliciter diuidi. Quod si tertium aliquem locum ostendere non potestis,* PRAETER SEPVLCHRVM ET INFERNVM, *ex quibus planè ereptus est homo Christo assertore, per suam speciem cum nostri similitudine congruentem, cur igitur dicitis, deum nondum propitiatum esse?* Hee that examined *Adams* disobedience, and in the ende of his iudgement comprised in his sentence (against Adam) a double punishment; speaking thus to the terrestriall part (of man,) *earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou returne*; and according to this decree, the Lords body was laid in earth; euen he said to the soule, thou shalt *die the death*; and thereupon man (dying) is distracted in two partes, and condemned to two places. Insomuch that it was requisite, the verie same iudge, which pronounced this decree, should by himselfe dissolue this sentence in the shew of a man condemned, but yet proouing himselfe to be vncondemned, and cleere from sinne, that he might reconcile man to God, and reduce the whole man to libertie. Now if you can name me any other place, whereto man was condemned besides these two, rightly may you thinke man

[k] Athanas. ibidē.

(after death) is to be deuided into three (places;) but if you can shewe me no third place, besides the graue, (for the bodie) and hell, (for the soule,) from both which man is fullie freed, Christ deliuering him with like parts of himselfe answerable to our nature, how say you then, that God is not yet satisfied? The whole man in Adam was in such sort condemned for sinne, that his bodie returned to corruption in the earth, and his soule departed to tormentes in hell, which is the death of the soule after this life. To the verie same places whither man was condemned, & in the same partes of our nature, the sonne of GOD vouchsafed to descende, that by the lying of his bodie in the earth, our bodies might at the last daie bee raised out of the earth; and by the presence of his soule in hell, on which the force of hell coulde not fasten, our soules might for euer be deliuered from comming thither.

[l] *Hilar. in Psal. 138.*

This condemnation of the bodie to the graue, and of the soule to hell for sinne, is that [l] law of humane necessity, which Hilary speaketh of, whereto the Lord Iesus submitted himself; not that his flesh should see corruption, or his soule tast of damnatiō, but ꝑ by the presence of his body in the graue, & of his soule in hell he might shew himselfe inuincible to both, and so deliuer vs from both. [m] The archangels, powers, and principalities (in heauen) doe with vnceasing and euerlasting voices glorifie the sonne of God (saith Hilary) *quia homo natus sit, mortem vicerit, portas Inferni fregerit, cohæredē sibi plebē acquisierit, carnem in æternitatis gloriam ex corruptione transtulerit*; because he became man, vanquished death, brake the gates of hel, purchased vnto himselfe a people to inherit with him, and translated his flesh frō corruptiō to eternal glory. These two places the graue & hel, whereto sinners were adiudged to haue their bodies in the one to be corrupted, their soules in the other to be tormented, Fulgentius doth expressly pursue; as his wordes before do plainly testifie; and resolutelie concludeth, that Christs manhood for the ful effecting of our redemption must SO FAR DESCEND, [n] *quousque homo separatus à deo peccati merito*

[m] *Hilar. de trinitat. lib. 3*

[n] *Fulgent. vt supra.*

merito cecidisset; HOVV FAR MAN SEVERED FROM GOD, FEL BY THE DESERT OF SINNE; THAT IS, TO HELL, VVHERE THE SOVLE OF THE SINNER VSED TO BE TORMENTED, and to the graue where the FLESH OF THE SINNER vsed to putrifie. Nowe if anie man thinke the soule of man seuered from God, did not for the wages of sinne deserue the place and paines of the damned, he had more nede bee catechised then confuted. For since without repentance men [o] perish in their sinnes; and [p] the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die; the death of the soule after this life is no where but in hell, where bodie & soule do perish euerlastinglie. With these soeuer Saint Austen as touching the place. *Si in illum Abrahæ sinum Christum mortuum venisse sancta scriptura dixisset, non nominato inferno eiusque doloribus; miror si quisquam ad inferos eum descendisse asserere auderet. Sed quia euidentia testimonia & infernum commemorant & dolores, nulla causa occurrit, cur illò credatur venisse saluator, nisi vt ab eius doloribus saluos faceret.* If the holie Scripture had saide, that Christ after his death came to Abrahams bosome, and not mentioned hell and the paynes thereof, I maruaile if anie woulde haue beene so bolde, as to haue auouched that Christ descended into hel. But for that euident testimonies do name hel, and the paines (of hel) I yet see no cause, why our Sauiour should bee beleeued to haue come thither, but to deliuer frō the paines thereof. Wherefore when the scriptures teach vs, ỹ Christs soule was in hell; wee must not by hel mean Abrahams bosome, or Paradise, but ỹ very place of the damned, where the soules of sinners are tormented. For Christ to redeeme man that was condemned for sinne, descended as lowe, as man fell by the punishment of sinne in this life or the nexte, and set vs backe from the sentence of death pronounced against vs, by presenting himselfe in our stede to the verie places, that were prepared to reuenge our transgressions: his flesh resisting the power of the graue, and his soule repressing and breaking the

[o] Luke 13.
[p] Ezech. 18

[q] August. epi. 99

paines

paines of hell, that neither shoulde bee able to hinder the spéede of his resurrection, or weaken the worke of our redemption.

As the place whither Christ descended, is expressly named in the scriptures to be hell, and ἅδης, where the wicked are euerlastinglie tormented; so the purpose of his descent is plainelie professed in the same, to bee the spoiling of Satan, and deliuering of man from the power of hell. And these two are so linked together, that the one is alwaies included in the other; Christ entring Satans house to this ende, that he might diuide the spoiles. First then let vs see, what the scriptures say of mans deliuerance from the hande of Satan; and afterward heare what some of the ancient writers haue there to added, or therein doubted. The promise made in the prophet Esay, that God [r] will destroie death for euer, and likewise in the prophet Osee; [f] I will redeeme them from the power of hell; I will deliuer them from death: ô death I will be thy death, ô hell I will bee thy destruction: was not peculiar to this or that age, nor proper to those that were alreadie dead, or then borne when this was spoken; but generall to all the faithfull from the beginning to the ende; whereby God assureth them, that [t] hell shall bee destroied, and [u] Satan troden vnder feete, and [x] death swallowed vp in victorie. Zachary Iohn Baptistes father is the best expositor of all these promises, when he saith. [y] Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, because he hath visited, and redeemed his people. And hath raised vp an horne of saluation for vs, in the house of his seruant *Dauid*, (as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which were from the beginning) euen saluation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate vs. (Which was) the othe, that hee sware to our father *Abraham*, that he would cause vs; being deliuered out of the hande of our enemies, to serue him without feare in holinesse and righteousnesse before him all the daies of our life. The saluation which God hath wrought for vs in Christ, doth not free vs from afflictions and troubles, since [z] all that will liue

The ende of Christs descēt to hell, was the destruction of Satan, and deliuerance of man.

[r] Esay. 25
[f] Osee. 13

[t] Osee. 13
[u] Rom. 16
[x] 1. Corinth. 15
[y] Luke. 1

[z] 2. Tim. 3

liue godly in Christ Iesus shall suffer persecution; but it bringeth vs DELIVERANCE FROM OVR (ghostly) ENEMIES; & saueth vs from the hand of al that hate (our soules); that being quieted from their power and feare, we should serue God in holines all the time of our life. And albeit in this life, our eies [a] are opened, that we may turne from darkenesse to light, and from the power of Satan, to God; and receaue forgiuenesse of sinnes, and inheritance amongst them, which are sanctified by faith in Christ: yet the feare of death is not taken from vs, till we be assured, that hell is conquered; and no cause lefte why we should tremble at death, that now is an entrance to a better life.

[a] Actes. 26

DELIVERANCE then, FROM THE HAND OF ALL that hate vs, (which Christ hath purchased for vs,) hath in it not onelie remission of sinnes, and resurrection from death, but also the destruction of Satan: whereby God acquitteth vs from the power of darkenesse, that is, from the feare of hell in this life, and from the danger thereof in the next, and fully translateth vs into the kingdome of his deere sonne; and this deliuerance belongeth to all the members of Christ without exception, as well liuing, as yet vnborne. Christ (saith the Apostle) through death [b] destroied him, that had power of death, euen the diuell, and DELIVERED ALL THEM, which for feare of death were al their life long subiect to bondage. If ALL BE DELIVERED, that were oppressed with the feare of death, then surelie the liuing must needs be discharged from the bondage of Satan; and redemption from the power of hell, which God promised vnto his seruantes, was not proper to anie that were in hell at the time of Christes descent, but it was, and is extended to all the faithfull before and after Christs comming, that in this life they should be secured, & in the next saued from him, that had the power of death, and from the gates of hell. Fulgentius teacheth this doctrine as Catholike: [c] *Sicut mortuus pro nobis, omnes nos sibi commori fecit; sic solutis doloribus inferni, omnes fideles ab ijsdem doloribus liberi-*

Deliuerance was performed as well to the liuing and vnborne, as to the deade.

[b] Hebre. 2.

[c] *Fulgent. ad Trasimundum. lib. 3.*

liberauit. As (*Christ*) dying for vs, made vs all to die with him; so dissoluing the paines of hell, he DELIVERED ALL THE FAITHFVLL from the same. As all the godlie, that euer were, are, or shall be, died in Christes flesh vnto sinne; so all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the end thereof were deliuered from the paines of hell, by the presence and power of Christs soule breaking the strength, and losing the sorrowes of death euen in hell. And therefore hee saith, [d] Christ called himselfe free among the dead, [d] *vt ostenderet animam suam à peccato liberam, in infernum pro* NOBIS PECCATORIBVS DESCENDISSE, to shew that his soule cleere frō sinne descended into hel FOR VS SINNERS. So that Christ descended to hell FOR ALL THE FAITHFVL, and FOR VS SINNERS, to deliuer them and vs from the sorrowes of the second death; and not for certaine whom he found in hell, when he came thither.

[d] Ibidem.

[e] De trinitat. l. 4

[f] Ibidem. lib. 3

[g] Athanas. de salutari aduentu Christi.

[h] Idem de incarnat. Christi.

[i] Ibidem.

Hilarius ioyneth in the same confession, that Christ [e] killing death in hell, confirmed the faith OF OVR HOPE with his resurrection; [f] and breaking the gates of hell, purchased a people that shoulde inherite with him. Athanasius euerie where treadeth the same steppes; teaching vs that Christ [g] perfited his resurrection FOR VS, and out of hell and the graue brought immortalitie and incorruption, releasing OVR DETENTION. And againe, Christ [h] brake the chaines of death as God, that where death raigned ouer mens soules, there he being present as a man might demonstrate immortalitie (in his soule) and so MAKE VS PARTAKERS of his incorruption. And lastlie, where death both of soule and bodie was inflicted on man for sinne, the one in the graue, the other in hell; [i] hee that gaue the iudgement, dissolued the sentence in his owne person, vnder the shewe of a man condemned; but in deede vncondemned, and free from sinne, that hee might reconcile MAN to God, and bring THE VVHOLE MAN into libertie. FROM THE GRAVE THEN, AND FROM HEL MAN VVAS FREED CHRIST DELIVERING HIM.

And

And least it should seeme strange, that our soules were deliuered from hel by Christs descent thither, where they neuer were; S. Austen expounding Dauids words, [k] Thou hast deliuered my soule frō the nethermost hell, sheweth that men may bee deliuered as well from DANGERS CONSEQVENT as PRESENT; and as well from that which is DESERVED, as from that which is INFLICTED. And first ý Christ deliuered OVR SOVLES from hell by his comming thither (though we were not there) his words are plaine. *Est aliud (infernum) inferius, quò eunt mortui: vnde voluit deus eruere* ANIMAS NOSTRAS, *etiam illuc mittendo filium suum. Propterea vox eius est in illo psalmo, non quoquam homine coniciente, sed Apostolo exponente, vbi ait: quoniā non dereliquisti animam meā in inferno. Ergo aut ipsius vox est hic, et eruisti animā meam ab inferno inferiori, aut nostra vox est per ipsum christū dominū nostrū, quia ideo ille peruenit vsq; ad infernū, ne* NOS REMANEREMVS *in inferno.* There is a lower hel, whither ý dead go; whēce it pleased God to deliuer OVR SOVLES, by sending his son thither. Therfore those are Christs words in ý psalme, not by mās coniecture, but by the Apostles exposition, where he saith; ý hast not left my soule in hel. So ý this verse, *Thou hast deliuered my soule frō the nethermost hel,* is either the voice of Christ in this psalm, or it is our voice in the person of Christ our Lord, because he therefore went to hell, LEAST VVE SHOVLD ABIDE (for euer) IN HEL. And to proue this speach to be vsuall ý we are deliuered from the dangers & places in which we neuer were, but should haue bin, if wee had not bin saued thence; hee addeth. [m] *Recte dicis medico, liberasti me ab agritudine, non in qua iā eras, sed in qua futurus eras. Mittendus erat (quis) in carcerem: venit alius defendit eum; gratias agens, quid dicit? eruisti animam meam de carcere. Suspendendus erat debitor; solutum est debitum pro eo; liberatus dicitur de suspendio. In his omnibus non erant, sed quia talibus meritis agebantur, vt, nisi subuentum esset, ibi essent, inde se rectè dicunt liberari, quò per liberatores suos non sunt permissi perduci.* Thou sayest rightlie to

We are deliuered, not from being in hell but from comming thither.

[k] Psal. 85.

[l] *August. in* Psal. 85.

[m] *Ibidem.*

thy physitiã, you haue deliuered me frõ this sicknes, not in which thou wast, but into which thou wast like to fall. A man is about to be cast into prison; another commeth and rescueth him. What saith he when he giueth thanks? you deliuered me out of prison. A debtor was in danger to be hanged; the debt is paid for him, he is said to be deliuered from hanging. In all these things, they were not; but because such were their desertes, that vnlesse they had beene holpen, they had fallen into them, THEY RIGHTLY MAY SAY THEY VVERE DELIVERED thence, VVHITHER THEY VVERE NOT SVFFERED TO COME, by those that deliuered them. Tertullian declining to Montanisme in his booke de anima, and defending the soules of al the faithful after Christs comming to be kept, apud Inferos, in the region of hell till the daie of iudgement, saue of martyrs, to whome onely he opened Paradise, confesseth the other side, which in deed were true christians, made this obiection against him. [n] *Sed in hoc, inquiunt, Christus inferos adijt, ne nos adiremus. Cæterum quod discrimen ethnicorum & christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?* But to this end, they say, Christ went to hell, that we should not come thither. For what difference between the Ethnickes and Christians, if after death they be both in one prison? So that in all ages this doctrine was preserued in the church, which the scriptures doe warrant, that Christ by his death destroied the deuil, and deliuered all the godlie from the feare, not of the first death, which they cannot auoide, and need not to feare; but of the second death in hell, which is iustlie to be feared, and can no way be preuented, but by the power of that redemption, which we haue in Christ Iesus.

[n] *Tertullian. de anima, cap. 55*

Where the soules of the righteous were before Christs comming, is nothing to this question.

[But all the fathers with one consent affirme, that Christ deliuered the soules of the patriarks & prophets out of hel, at his comming thither; and so spoiled Satan of those, ỹ were in his present possession.] The doctrin of Christs descending into hel to saue al his mẽbers from cõming thither, must not be confounded with this disputation, whether ỹ soules of the prophets

prophets and Patriarks were before Christs resurrection in hell or no; but whatsoeuer we determine or imagine of this later question, the other position standeth vncontrolled, both by Scriptures and fathers: yet for their sakes, that happilie maie stumble at this blocke, I will not refraine to speake what I thinke of this assertion; so as I bee first allowed to say with saint Austen. [o] *Quod dicimus fratres, hoc si non vobis tanquam certus exposuero, ne succenseatis. Homo enim sum, & quantum conceditur de scripturis sanctis, tantum audeo dicere, nihil ex me. Infernum nec ego expertus sum adhuc, nec vos; & fortassis alia via erit, & non per infernum erit. Incerta sunt enim hæc.* That which (in this question) I say brethren, if I can not auouch it as certaine, you must not bee offended. I am but a man, and what I am assured by the Scriptures, that I dare affirme, and of my selfe nothing. Hell neither I haue yet experience of, neither you; and perchance there shall bee another way, and by hell it shall not bee. For these thinges are altogither vncertaine. The thinges after this life God will not haue particularlie knowne vnto vs, whiles here wee liue; and therefore to make sodaine resolutions of them, can haue neither certaintie nor safetie; yet so much as the scriptures reueale, we must necessarilie beleeue, and may boldlie professe without anie danger.

[o] *August. in psal. 85.*

Touching the state of the dead in the olde Testament, I see a number of auncient writers incline to this conclusion, that the soules of the righteous before Christes death and descent were in hell; but as the foundation of their opinion is verie weake, so the consequents are plainlie contradicted, both by Scriptures and fathers. This assertion first grewe from the confession of the Patriarkes and Prophets, that they must after this life, DESCEND TO SHEOL; which the Septuagint doe alwayes expresse by the worde ἅδης, and the Latine interpreter, by Infernus; whereupon the fathers both Greeke and Latin supposed the saints in the old Testament departing hence DESCENDED TO HELL;

The reason why the fathers thought they were in hell.

HELL; But the signification of the worde Sheôl is so manifestlie mistaken, that it is nowe no great masterie to finde the folle. When Iacob saith, [p] I will go downe TO SHEOL mourning to my sonne; and againe, [q] You will bring my gray haires with sorrow vnto Sheôl; and likewise Iob; [r] Sheôl is my house; oh that thou wouldest hide me [s] in Sheôl till thine anger were past; as also Dauid, [t] what man liueth, that shall deliuer his soule from the hand of Sheôl? And lastly [u] Ezechias, I shal go to the gates of Sheôl: If by Sheôl in these places wee vnderstand hell, as some Greeke and Latine interpreters and writers haue done; we must needes confesse the faithfull dying in the former Testament descended into hell; but if wee take Sheôl for the graue, where life endeth and the bodie lieth; then make they no kind of proofe, that the soules of the godly before Christs comming, were in hel, but only that their bodies were in the graue; of which there was neuer any question amongst christians or pagans.

[p] Gen. 37.
[q] Gen. 42.
[r] Iob. 17.
[s] Iob. 14.
[t] Psal. 89.
[u] Esai. 38.

Sheôl signifieth as well the graue as hell.

Nowe that Sheôl in the Scriptures noteth as well the graue where mens bodies putrifie, as the place where the soules of the wicked are after this life detained and punished, to him that considereth the circumstances of these and other such places, will soone appeare. The wordes of king Ezechiah at large are these. [x] I said in the cutting off of my daies, I shall goe to the gates of Sheôl, I am depriued of the residue of my yeares. I saide, I shall not see the Lord in the land of the liuing; I shall see man no more amongst the inhabitants of the worlde. I haue cutte my life in sunder like a weauer. Here is a full description of death, not of hell; and least wee should dreame, that both are linked togither, in the end hee saieth; [y] Sheôl can not confesse vnto thee, neither can death praise thee, nor they that descende into the pitte, trust in thy trueth; but the liuing, the liuing, hee shall confesse thee, as I doe this day. It is manifest impietie to saie that the soules of the Saints departed did neither CONFESSE, NOR PRAISE GOD, NOR TRVST

[x] Esay. 38.
[y] Ibid. ver. 18. & 19.

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IN HIS TRVTH: but in the graue where the bodie wanteth sense and life, this is most true, which Ezechias deliuereth, and confirmed by the holie Ghost in diuerse places of the Scriptures. [z] In death there is no remembrance of thee (saieth Dauid to GOD) and in Sheôl who shall confesse (or praise) thee? The soules of iust and perfect men did then most praise GOD, when they were loosed from the warfare of this life; therefore they were not in Sheôl; for in Sheôl none shall confesse vnto God, nor trust in his truth. [a] The deade praise not the Lord, nor all that goe downe into silence. DEATH, SILENCE, and SHEOL, are taken for one and the same thing; and in none of these is GOD praised, or confessed. And what can bee plainer then that Dauid saieth in the 141. Psalme? [b] Our bones lie scattered at the mouth of Sheôl, as chippes hewed on the earth. Their bones I trust lay not scattered at the mouth of hell, but at the mouth of their graues, where their bodies were buried. Iob in like maner; [c] though I hope, yet Sheôl must bee mine house, I shall take vp my bedde in darkenesse. I shall say to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worme, thou art my mother, and my sister. Darkenesse, corruption, and the worme are the partes of Sheol; and these consume the bodie, they waste not the soule. Salomon shall seale vp this inquisition, where hee saieth; [d] All that thine hande is able to doe, dispatch it in thy strength; for there is neither VVORKE, nor THOVGHT, nor KNOVVLEDGE, nor VVISEDOME in SHEOL whither thou goest. If the soules of the righteous neither DOE, nor THINKE, nor KNOVVE anie thing, they bee surelie a sleepe, and neither in ioy nor paine; but if this bee absurde and wicked to affirme either of hell, heauen, paradise, or of Abrahams bosome, then certainlie SHEOL, where none of these things are, is THE GRAVE; and there it is euident, all these thinges are wanting. Hines then without question Sheol signifieth as well the graue,

[z] Psal. 6.
[a] Psal. 115.
[b] Psal 141.
[c] Iob. 17.
[d] Eccles. 9.

graue, where the bodie lieth dead and rotten, as the place where the soules of vniust and sinfull men are kept and tormented; if in the wordes of the Patriarkes and Prophets, confessing they must go to Sheol, we vnderstand the graue, which indeede they ment; there is no shew in the scriptures, that the faithfull before Christes death went to hell, as some fathers haue collected out of these and such like sayings of the godlie before Christes birth; but rather the places that mention their state after death, do euidently import the contrarie.

The Church of the Iewes thought the soules of the righteous to be in peace.

The booke of Wisedome, though it be not Canonicall; yet doth it shewe what opinion the Church of the Iewes had of the soules of the righteous departed this life; and how much some ancient writers were deceiued in this their perswasion, that the spirites of the Patriarks and Prophets were in hell at the time of Christes descent thither. [c] The soules of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. They seemed in the eyes of the vnwise to die, and their ende was counted miserie, and their departure hence destruction; but they are in peace. For though in the sight of men they were punished, yet their hope is full of immortalitie. They were nourtured in some fewe thinges, but they shall bee rewarded in greate thinges, for God tried them, and founde them meete for himselfe. Hee prooued them as gold in the fornace; and receiued them, as the fruites of a perfect offering. In the time of their visitation, they shall shine, and judge the Nations, and raigne ouer peoples, and he that is Lord ouer them shall raigne for euer. They that trusted in him, shall vnderstande the truth, and the faithfull shall remaine in his fauour; for grace and mercie is with his Saints, and a due regarde had of his elect. **The soules of the righteous, before Christes comming were in peace, euen in Gods hande, receiued as a perfect offering. Grace and mercie was with them, and a speciall fauour towardes them, no torments did touch them. If this were hell, what greater**

[c] Sapient. ca. 3.

greater ioy and blisse coulde they haue in Paradise? And this is in effect the verie same, that Dauid hoped for, when hee saide, [f]God shal deliuer my soule from the power of Sheôl; for he will receiue me, Selah.

[f] Psal. 49.

And if this bee not plaine enough, our Sauiour in his life time described Abraham to be [g] farre aboue the place of torment, and Lazarus in his bosome; and so huge a distaunce betwixt, that there was no passing from the one to the other; yea the theefe was the same date that Christ died in Paradise; and yet our Sauiour raysed nor reduced none from Hell, by their owne confession, till the third date, that hee rose from the deade. If Abraham were not in hell, nor Lazarus, that late in his bosome; if the riche man woulde haue his fiue brethren warned, least they came into that place of torment; how can it bee true, that the Prophets, and Patriarkes were in hell, when Christ descended, and not thence deliuered, but by his resurrection? Saint Austens collection vpon Abrahams bosome, is worth the hearing. [h] *Ad-dunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, & domui eius, Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, aliisque Patriarchis & Prophetis, vt cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus soluerentur. Sed quonam modo intelligatur Abraham, in cuius sinum pius ille pauper susceptus est, in illis doloribus fuisse,* EGO QVIDEM NON VIDEO: *explicant fortasse qui possunt. Solos autem duos, id est Abraham & Lazarum in illo memorabilis quietis sinu fuisse, antequam Dominum in inferna descenderet; & de ipsis tantum duobus dictum fuisse illi diuiti; Inter vos & nos chaos magnum firmatum est, vt ij qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint, neque inde huc transmeare; nescio vtrum* QVISQVAM SIT, CVI NON VIDEATVR ABSVRDVM. *Porro si plures quam duo ibi erant,* QVIS AVDEAT DICERE *non ibi fuisse Patriarchas & Prophetas, quibus in Scripturis Dei iustitia pietatisque tam insigne testimonium perhibetur?*

[g] Luke 16. Christ himselfe placed ŷ soules of the righteous far aboue hell in cõfort.

[h] August. epi. 99

Quid ergo is præstiterit, qui dolores soluit inferni, in quibus illi non fuerunt, nondum intelligo; præsertim quia ne ipsos quidem inferos vspiam Scripturarum locis in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam legitur, non vtique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est secreta cuiusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est; quanquam in his ipsis tanti magistri verbis, vbi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter nos & vos chaos magnum firmatum est, SATIS VT OPINOR APPARET, *non esse quandam partem & quasi membrum inferorum tantæ felicitatis sinum.* Some adde that this benefite was yeelded vnto the Saintes of the olde Testament, *Abel, Seth, Noe* and his familie, *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Iacob,* and to the rest of the Patriarkes and Prophets, that when Christ came to hell, they were deliuered from those paines there. But how *Abraham,* into whose bosome that godlie poore *Lazarus* was receiued, can bee imagined to haue beene in these paines, I for my part doe not see, let them DECLARE IT THAT CAN. But that onely two, *Abraham* and *Lazarus,* were in that bosome of memorable rest, before the Lorde descended to hell; and that it was said of these two onelie, *betwixt you and vs is a mightie gulfe setled,* (so that such as would goe from hence to you, can not; nor anie that woulde come from you to vs,) I knowe not whether there be anie man, to whom IT SEEMETH NOT ABSVRD. And if there were mo then two, VVHO DARE SAY, the Patriarkes and Prophets were not there, to whom the worde of God giueth so great testimonie of righteousnesse and godlinesse? What benefite hee did them, by loosing the paines of hell, in which they were not, I yet vnderstande not; speciallie since I cannot finde the name of *Inferi* (or hell) in any place of scripture vsed for any good. The which if it bee no where in the diuine authoritie to be read, then surely the bosome of *Abraham* which is an habitation of secret rest, is not to be thought any part of hell; albeit in the verie wordes of so great a teacher (as Christ is) where he maketh *Abraham* say, betwixt you and vs there is a mightie distance established, it is euident enough, as I thinke, that

that the bosome of so great happines is no part nor mẽber of hel.

Saint Austen examineth the opinion of some auncient writters, that Christ descended to hell to deliuer ẏ patriarks, prophets, and the righteous of the old testament thence, & not onely refuseth but after his maner mildly refuteth that fansie, which had possessed many of the fathers before him. Out of Christs words in the 16. of Luke he deriueth two conclusions; one that Abrahams bosom was a place OF REST AND HAPPINES, or as the scripture speaketh, OF COMFORT; and consequently not of paine or torment, as was hell; the other, that BETVVIXT THEM IS AN HVGE DISTANCE, so that by no meanes Abrahams bosome can be taken to bee ANY PART OR MEMBER OF HELL. Out of the principles of diuinitie he draweth two other positions, the first, that Abrahams bosome was not made for Lazarus onelie; which is so absurd, that he thinketh no man will be so swith as to embrace it. Abrahams bosome must be open to the rest of his children, which did the workes of their father Abraham, as well as to Lazarus; with God is no respect of persons; and [i] From the East and West shall come manie, and sit downe with Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, in the kingdome of heauen, saith our Sauiour. The second is, that if more besides Abraham and Lazarus were in that bosome of rest, the Prophets and Patriarks, must nẽds be there, who for fidelitie and pietie are commended by the witnesse of Gods spirite, and placed in the foundation of the Church with the Apostles nert the heade corner stone, as [k] HOLIE MEN OF GOD, inspired and mooued by the holie ghost. These deductions being sound and sure, whereof there can bee no doubt, it is certaine, Christ went not to hell to fetch the Patriarkes and Prophets thence, for they were not there; but in Abrahams bosome, which was an habitation of REST, COMFORT and BLISSE; so farre distant from the place of torment, that by no meanes it coulde bee a PART or MEMBER THEREOF.

The summe of S. Austens collections out of the 16. of saint Luke.

[i] Mat. 8.

[k] 2. Pet. 1.

S. Austens coniecture that some were deliuered out of hell is verie weake.

[But Austen himselfe saith, hee doubteth not, but Christ deliuered some from the paines of hell at his descent thither.] Saint Austen refelleth the receiued opinion of others before him, that Christ descended to hell, to deliuer thence the Patriarkes and Prophets that were there detained; and addeth, that because he then presentlie sawe no cause why Christ should descend, but to saue from the paines of hel; he doth not doubt, but Christ deliuered some frō thence. But when he commeth to make proof for this his opinion; he fainteth, and saith; the words of Peter, that Christ loosed the paines of hell, may bee taken in that sense; and that Adam was then loosed, ALMOST the whole church consented. Howbeit both these proofs are no more then probable, & scant so much; and therfore they compell no man to receiue S. Austens coniecturall inclination; but leaue vs at libertie, as wel to examine his reasons, as to suspend our iudgemēts, till we see stroger & better mottiues to induce our consent. For touching Peters wordes, himselfe confesseth they may bee referred to Christ.

1 *August. epist. 99.*

1 *Quod scriptū est in morte Christi factū, solutis doloribus inferni, vel ad ipsum potest intelligi pertinere, quod eos hactenus soluerit, hoc est irritos fecerit, ne ab eis ipse teneretur, præsertim quia sequitur, in quibus impossibile erat teneri* EVM: *vel si causa quæritur cur venire voluerit in infernum, vbi dolores illi essent, quibus omnino teneri non poterat; hoc quod scriptum est, solutis doloribus inferni, non in omnibus, sed* IN QVIBVSDAM ACCIPI POTEST, *quos ille dignos ista liberatione iudicabat.* What the Scripture saieth was performed in the death of Christ, THE PAINES OF HELL BEEING LOOSED, may either bee vnderstoode to pertaine to Christ himselfe, that hee loosed, that is, frustrated those paines from taking anie holde of him; speciallie whereas it followeth (in the Text) OF WHICH PAINES IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE HEE SHOVLDE BE HELDE: or if wee aske for the cause, why he woulde come to hell, where those paines were which coulde take no hold of him; these words (loosing the paines of hel) may

bee

bee taken not of all, but of some, whome he thought worthy to be deliuered. Either way these wordes make nothing to S. Austens supposition, that some were in the paines of hell, when Christ did thence deliuer them. For if we applie them to Christs person, which in deede S. Peter doth, they note that Christ brake before him the strength of hell, when he approched to his resurrection. If wee refer them to mans deliuerance thence, that Christ in our names and for our safetie loosed the sorrowes of hell; this will proue, wee should haue gone to hell, if Christ had not saued vs thence; but that wee were there, it no way proueth. For hee deliuered all his, as well liuing, and not then borne, as dead, from all the right and claime that hell had to them; and as we were deliuered, not from being there, but from comming thither; so the dead might bee acquited and assured from the chalenge that hell had to them, though they were then in rest, and in hope of Christs comming to performe their expectation, and perfit their redemption from the power of hell.

How ỹ church might beleeue *Adams* bandes were loosed in hell by Christs descent.

As for the consent of the whole church ALMOST, since Austen himselfe leadeth vs to dislike the opinion of all the fathers ALMOST, that the soules of the righteous were in hel before Christes descent thither; hee openeth the waie for vs to aske how the church came, by that persuasion; whether by scripture, or by Tradition: Scripture there is none extant for Adam, more then for all other men. Tradition for things done in hell, where no man liuing was present, can none bee pretended. The testimonie, which Austen alleageth out of the booke of Wisedome, maketh rather against that position, then for it. (Wisedome) [m] kept the first man that was alone created, euen the father of the world; and BROVGHT HIM OVT OF HIS SINNE, and gaue him power to gouerne all thinges. That Wisedome brought Adam out of his sinne, is here affirmed; but whether by chastisement and repentance in this life, or by deliuerance out of hell after this life, since neither is specified, the first is rather to bee receaued. For God

[m] Sapient. 10.

both by punishing Adams offence, and by offering him grace in the promised Seede, did make way for repentance; yea the whole life of Adam was nothing else but the meditation of his fall; but that Christ fet him from hell, when hee descended thither, came by no rules of religion bee warranted. Indeed Christ went to hell to lose the bands of Adams sinne; and so the church might well beleeue and professe. For the guilt of Adams transgression, and roote of Adams corruption, brought vs all to be iustlie condemned to hell, but that the death of Christ reconciled vs againe to God by the remission of our sinnes; and the personall descent of our Sauiour loosed all the bandes, and brake all the chaines of darkenesse that were prouided for vs; and so freed Adam and his offspring from the power and paines of hell. In this the whole church might consent, that Adams sinne was released, and Adams bandes loosed by Christs descent to hell; but other tradition, what soules were in hell, and thence deliuered at Christes comming, as it was altogether vnknowne to men on earth, and consequentlie most vncertaine, so is it rather presumptuous to define, then religious to beleeue.

From hel was no release, by the doctrine of our Sauiour.

And least I should seeme to be led with the spirit of contradiction, to refuse both the tradition of the church, and opinion of the fathers, I will plainelie shew, what causeth me to consent to neither. First in these secret and vnknowne things, no mans assertion is to be trusted without the witnes of the scriptures; and forsomuch as is expressed vnto vs in the word of God, it rather crosseth, then fauoreth this assertion of the fathers. Next the ancient writers heerein doe not onelie varie, one from another, but euen from themselues; to manifest that they had no settled truth, but some coniectures, and those verie slender in these hidden matters. Touching the soules of the righteous departed this life before Christes death, to omit the place of the booke of Wisedome alreadie recited, which expresselie gainesaieth this supposall

of

of the fathers, that the soules of the iust were both in hell and in torments: there is nothing exactlie reuealed vnto vs in the scriptures that are canonicall, till we come to the xvi. of S. Lukes gospell, where our Sauiour by the parabolicall historie of the wicked rich man and the godlie Lazarus teacheth vs, what became of them both after their deathes; and consequentlie what was the state of all the deade before his time; to wit, that they were either CARIED BY ANGELS TO ABRAHAMS BOSOME, or PVNISHED IN THE FLAMES OF HELL. These two places, as they bee farre distant the one from the other, both in SCITVATION and CONDITION, the one beeing full of comfort, the other of torment; so in this they agrée, that there coulde bee no ALTERATION in either. The rich man in hell coulde neither obtaine anie meanes to bee refreshed, no not a drop of water to cole his heate; nor expect anie time to bee released. Our Sauiour maketh Abraham to say to the rich man, which must nedes be true, [n] between you and vs there is settled a great gulfe, (or mightie distance,) so that they which would go from hence to you cannot, NEITHER CAN THEY COME FROM THENCE TO VS. After this life there was no changing of places, and namelie from hell there was no release. This our Sauiour taught for a resolute trueth in his life time; howe then coulde the soules of the iust bee released and reduced from hell by his descent? If Abraham and Lazarus were not in hell, but in a place of rest and comforte farre distant from hell, howe then were all the righteous before Christes time not onlie in hell, but in the sorrowes and paines of hell? yea the son of God with his owne mouth so often in the new testament expressing the fire of hel to be [o] vnquenchable, and the worme there neuer to die, how dare we without any warrant of the word of God, first to bring al ỹ soules of the righteous before Christ, from Abrahams bosome to hell, and then to deliuer them thence without anie witnesse of the holie

[n] Luke. 16

[o] Mark. 9.

scriptures?

scriptures? With one breath our Sauiour doth thrice pro-
[p] Mark. 9. nounce in the gospell of Marke that in hell, neither the fire quencheth, nor the worme dieth; and presume wee to quench the one, and kill the other without any scruple?

[But the scripture saith, the soules of the Patriarkes and Prophets were in hell; and there to leaue them after Christs descent, were euerlastinglie to condemne them.] The translators misteke the word Sheôl, calling that hel, which indeed was the graue, where the bodies of all the iust both before and after Christ were laid; but the teacher of all truth, whose doctrine wee by no meanes may distrust, placeth Abraham in rest, and maketh his bosome a receptacle for the soules of the righteous; and therefore we may striue about words if we list, but we must leaue the spirits of iust and perfit men before Christes comming, that place, which Christ, teaching here on earth, assured vs, was assigned them of God. And since by the doctrine of our sauiour they were not in hell; it is more then manifest, he did not fetch them thence by his descending thither.

The fathers varie touching the place of the soules departed before Christs comming.

As for the supposall of the fathers, that Abraham, Iacob, Samuel, and Dauid, with the rest of the Patriarks and prophets were in hell; it were easie to shew their varieties, & contrarieties, if I tooke pleasure to discouer their weakenesse. S. Austen in his 99. Epistle to Euodius, and his 12. booke *de genesi ad literam. cap. 33.* cracklie contradicteth the opinion of [q] Tertullian, [r] Basil, [s] Hierom, & [t] Ambrose, that Abraham & the rest of the Patriarks and Prophets were in hell; & proueth that Abrahams bosome must not be thought to be any part or member of hell. In his 57. Epistle to Dardanus hee saith, *non facile dixerim*; I cannot readily pronounce. In his 20. booke *de ciuitate dei. cap. 15.* he saith, *non absurdè creditur, antiquos etiam sanctos, apud inferos fuisse*, it seemeth no absurdity to beleeue, that the Saints of the olde testament were in hell; vntill the bloud of Christ and his descent to those places did deliuer them. And thus he either some times spared the credites of those

[q] *De anima. ca. 55.*
[r] *In Psal. 48. concio. 13.*
[s] *In Eccle. cap. 9*
[t] *In Epistol. ad Rom. cap. 5.*

those that were before him, or else by writing hee so profited, that where at first he doubted or yelded to others, at last he resolued the contrarie vpon the better examining the wordes of our Sauiour. Tertullian likewise in his booke *de anima* saith. [u] *Habes de paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constituimus, omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem iudicij.* We haue written a booke touching paradice, where wee defende that all soules are kept in hell vntill the day of iudgement. And speaking namelie of Abrahams bosome; [x] *Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos, inquis? velis ac nolis, & supplicia iam illic & refrigeria, habes pauperem, & diuitem. Cur enim non putes animam & puniri & foueri in inferis?* Are al soules then in hell, you wil aske? will you, nill you, you shall finde there punishmentes, and refreshments; as in *Lazarus*, and the rich man. And why shoulde you not thinke that the soule may bee both tormented, and comforted in hell? and yet in his fourth booke against Marcion, hee contradicteth that false position, and commeth foundlie to the truth: [y] *Aliud inferi, vt puto, aliud quoque sinus Abrahæ. Nam & magnum ait inter cedere regiones istas profundum, & transitum vtrinque prohibere. Sed nec allenasset diues oculos, & quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, & de altitudinis longinquo, per immensam illam distantiã sublimitatis & profunditatis. Eam itaque regionẽ sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen Inferis.* Hel is one thing, as I thinke; and *Abrahams* bosome is another. For (*Abraham*) sayeth a great depth is betweene these two regions, and suffereth none to passe to and fro. Neither coulde the rich man haue lift vp his eies, but vnto places aboue him, and far aboue him, by reason of the infinite distance betwixt that heigth, and that depth. That region then, I call *Abrahams* bosome, which though it bee not heauen, yet is it higher then hell. Ambrose after the same maner, sometimes saith, that Abraham was, (z *apud Inferos*) in hell; sometimes againe, that *Lazarus* a *in Abrahæ sinu recumbens, vitam carpebat æternam*: *Lazarus* lying in *Abrahams* bosome, enioied euerlasting life; and hard it is, that eter-

[u] *Cap. 55.*

[x] *Idem. cap. 58*

[y] *Idem contra Marcion. lib. 4*

[z] *In Epistol. ad Rom. cap. 5*

[a] *In Psal. 118. serm. 3*

nall life should be in hell. In the one and the same chapter he alloweth the perswasion of the heathen, [b] *quod animæ liberatæ de corporibus ἀϊδὲς peterent, id est, locum qui non videtur, quē locum Latinè Infernum dicimus:* that soules departed from their bodies did go to ἀϊδὲς, that is, to an inuisible place, which in latine is called hell; and also the assertion of true religion, ỹ the [b] graue was the receptacle of the body only; [b] *animarū autē superiora esse habitacula, scripturæ testimonijs valde probatur;* But ỹ mansions of the soules are aboue, as may easily be proued by ỹ testimonies of scripture. These are the habitatiõs of which Christ said, there are [c] many mansions with his father. But I take no delight in rehersing their ouersights, it will suffice that with one consent, they make Abrahams bosome a receptacle for all the iust; and the place of torments where the rich man was, a prison for the wicked; calling the one hell, and confessing the other to be the fruition of rest and happinesse after this life.

[b] *Ambros. de bono mortis, ca. 10.*

[c] Iohn. 14

[d] They that depart this world by death are according to their deeds & deserts bestowed (saith Origen) *alij in locũ, qui dicitur Infernus, alij in sinũ Abrahæ,* some to ỹ place which is called hel, others to *Abrahãs* bosom. [e] *Omnes qui patrem habent Abrahã, & virtutũ eius similes esse meruerunt, requiescunt in sinu eius.* Al that haue Abrahã for their father, and obtained to be like him in vertues, rest in his bosome, saith Ierom. [f] *Iusti in Abrahæ sinu requiescere leguntur, quod in eius gratia, in eius requie, in eius placiditate requiescunt, qui conformē ei fidē induerunt, et eandem in bonis operibus fecerunt voluntatem.* The iust (saith Ambrose,) are said to rest in Abrahams bosome, because they rest in like fauor, in like ease, in like contentation, which put on like faith to Abrahã, and followed his exãple in wel doing. And therfore he speaketh elsewhere to Abrahã: [g] *Expande sinus tuos, vt plures suscipias, quia plurimi in deũ crediderunt.* Open wide thy bosom to receaue mo, because many haue beleeued in God. [h] *Extendit Dauid spes suas ad infinitam perennitatis ætatē, nec concluditur mortis occasu quū sciat sibi in Abrahæ sinibus exemplo pauperis*

The soules of the righteous were in *Abrahams* bosome by the confession of the fathers.

[d] *Orig. περὶ ἀρχῶν.*

[e] *Hieron. in Esay. cap. 65.*

[f] *Ambros. in Psal. 38*

[g] *Idem de bono mortis cap. 12.*

[h] *Hilar. in Psal. 51.*

Lazari

Lazari esse viuendũ. Dauid stretcheth out his hope to infinite eternity, & endeth it not with ý fal of death, knowing ý he should liue in Abrahãs bosome, as did that poore *Lazarus*, saith Hilary. Neither Dauid onely, but all the faithfull were, and still are kept in Abrahams bosome, as Hilarie thinketh, vntill the day of iudgement. i *Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illũ regni cælestis, per custodiã domini fideles omnes reseruabuntur: in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quô adire impios interiectum chaos inhibet, quousque intreeundi rursum in regnum cælorum tempus adueniat*; All the faithfull departing this life, shall bee reserued in the Lords keeping, for that entrance into the kingdom of heauen, placed the meane while in *Abrahams* bosome, whither the gulfe betweene will not suffer the wicked to come, till the time approch that (the godly) shal enter into the kingdom of heauen. This time of entring into the kingdom of heauen, he maketh to be the day of iudgement. k *Excipit* (impios) *statim vltor infernus: & decedentes de corpore, si ita vixerunt, confestim de via iusta peribunt. Testes nobis sunt Euangelij diues et pauper, quorum vnum angeli* IN SEDIBVS BEATORVM, *& in Abrahæ sinu locauerunt, alium statim regio pœnæ suscepit. Nihil illic dilationis aut moræ est. Iudicij enim dies, vel, beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel pœna: Tempus vero mortis habet interim vnũquemq; suis legibus, dũ ad iudiciũ vnũquemq; aut Abrahams reseruat aut pœna.* Hel, as a reuenger, presently taketh the wicked, and they leauing this body, according to their liues, do forthwith perish frõ the right way. The rich and poore man in the gospel, do serue vs for witnesses, wherof the one was caried by the Angels, INTO THE SEATES OF THE BLESSED, & placed in *Abrahams* bosome; the other the region of punishment did straightway seaze on. No delaie or stay may there be looked for. The day of iudgment bringeth with it the reward of eternal blisse, or paine: but the verie time of death in the meane season subiecteth all men to these lawes, that either *Abrahams* or hell paines detaineth euerie soule vnto iudgement. These Fathers confesse, that all the iust, as well before Christes

i *Idem in Psal. 120.*

k *Idem in Psal. 2.*

resurrection as after, were and are still in Abrahams bosom; and there shall continue till the date of iudgement. Howe then could either Abrahams bosome be in hell, or the Saintes of the olde testament be thence deliuered by Christes descent, since they remaine still in Abrahams bosome, as these fathers write; and so shall do, to the end of the worlde? If Abrahams bosome were in hell, beeing deliuered from hell, they must needes bee deliuered likewise from Abrahams bosome: If they be still in Abrahams bosome, then were they neuer deliuered thence; and that being in hell, as some fathers would haue it, the iust of both testamentes are still in hell; and so none were deliuered thence by Christes descending thither.

[But the calling vp of Samuel by the Witch at Endor, prooueth ý Samuel & so the rest of the prophets were in hell. For she saw [l] him ascending vp out of the earth, & he saide to Saul [l] To morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me. Now that Saul being a reprobate, and killing himselfe, should bee in Abrahams bosome, it was not possible. Since then Samuel and Saul after death were both in one place, and that place was beneath in the earth, it is likelier that Samuel was in hell with Saul, till he were deliuered thence, then that Saul was in Abrahams bosome with Samuel.] The raising vp of Samuel after his death by the Witch, hath moued much question in the church of God, whether it were Samuel in deede that rose and spake, or whether it were the diuell transforming himselfe into the likenesse of Samuel, to driue Saul into dispaire. And albeit the matter may be largelie disputed on either side, yet neither opinion will infer that Samuels soule was in hell; which is the point we haue in hand. That it was not Samuel himselfe which appeared, but the Witches familiar spirit in his likenesse; these reasons preuaile with mee. First, neither by Witches nor Diuels coulde the soules of the saints bee commanded, or disquieted from their places, where they are in rest and peace. Secondlie, we are assured, by the doctrine of our Sauiour, that God will sende none [m] from the dead to instruct the liuing: yea all such conference

1 r. Samuel. 28. Whether the soule of *Samuel* were in hell, or no.

Reasons to proue it was an illusion of the Diuel.

[m] Luke 16.

is

is prohibited & pronounced [n] abominable by the law of God; not that the dead can arise or abuse the living, but because the diuell vnder that colour should not delude and abuse the people of God. Thirdlie, that which appeared receiued adoration at Saules hands, which the [o] Angel refused at S. Iohns; and the soule of Samuel neither might, nor would haue accepted. Fourthlie, Saul forsaken & reiected of God, could not after death rest in the same place with Samuel the elect and approued seruant of God. Lastlie, the fathers doe for the most part resolue, it was an illusion of Satan to strike Saul into desperation.

[n] Deut. 18.

[o] Reuel. 22.

Tertullian disputing against it verie learnedlie, saieth. [p] *Ecce hodie (Simonis hæreticos) tanta præsumptio artis extollit, vt etiam Prophetarum animas ab inferis mouere se spondeant. Et credo, quia mendacio possunt: nec enim pythonico tunc spiritui minus licuit animam* Samuelis *effingere, post deum mortuos consulente* Saule. *Absit alioquin vt animam cuiuslibet sancti nedum Prophetæ à damonio credamus extractam, edocti, quod ipse Satanas transfiguretur in Angelum lucis, nedum in hominem lucis. Dubitauit, si forte tunc Prophetam se Dei asseuerare, & vtique* Saulí, *in quo ipse morabatur: ne putes alium fuisse qui phantasma administrabat, alium qui commendabat, sed eundem spiritum & in pseudoprophetide & in Apostata facile mẽtiri, quod fecerat credi: & ideo per quem visurum se credidit, vidit: quia per quem vidit & credidit.* [q] *Nulli autem animæ omnino inferos patere, satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis, & diuitis ingemiscentis ex persona* Abrahæ *sanxit, non posse relegari renunciatorem dispositionis inferne, quod vel tunc licere potuisset, vt* Mosi *& Prophetis crederetur.* Euen at this day the followers of *Simon* (Magus) are so puffed vp with the presumption of their art, that they promise to raise from hell the soules of the Prophets. And I thinke they can easily belie themselues; for so did the familiar spirit (of the witch at Endor) resemble the soule of *Samuel*, when *Saul* reiected of God, consulted the dead. Otherwise, GOD FORBID VVE SHOVLD BELEEVE, that the

[p] *Tertul. de anima. cap* 57. Authorities to proue the same.

[q] *Ibid.*

soule of any Saint, much lesse of a Prophet, could bee raised by the Diuell; since wee are taught that Satan is often transfigured into an Angell of light, much more into a man of light. Perchaunce (the Diuell) did doubt to auouch himselfe to bee the Prophet of God, and that to *Saul*, whom hee alreadie possessed; least you should thinke it was anie other which commended the apparition, then hee that procured it; but euen the same spirite both in the false Prophetesse, and to the Apostata (*Saul*) easilie belied that which he had made to be beleeued. And therefore by whome (*Saul*) beleeued hee should see (the ghost of Samuel) by him he saw it; because by whom he saw it, to him he gaue credite. And to teach vs that no soule may rise from the dead, the lord doth sufficiently determine by the person of *Abraham* in that argument of the poore man in rest, & the rich man in torment, that none can returne to report the state of things in hell, which then might haue beene done, to get the more authoritie to *Moses* and the Prophetes. The booke of questions vnder the name of Iustine Martyr being of good antiquitie, if it bee not his; saieth. [r] *Cætera omnia ab ipsa Pythonissa facta sunt, Dæmonis operâ, præstigijs eorum oculos deludentis, qui videbant eum qui Samuel non erat. Veritas autem dictorum a Deo fuit, qui permisit Dæmoni, vt in forma Samuelis Pythonissæ appareret, & res futuras præmonstraret. Et quoniam Samuelem Saul non audierat, dum amissionem regni prædiceret illi, sed post diuinam sententiam ei regnum adimentem, per hariolos imperium retinere satagebat, indignum eum duxit Deus, vt ei ventura significaret per homines sibi adhærentes.* All the rest the witch did by the operation of the Diuell, deluding their eies, which sawe one that was not *Samuel*. But the trueth of that which was spoken, was of God, who permitted the Diuell both to appeare to the witch in the shape of *Samuel*, and to foretell the euent of thinges to come. For in that *Saul* would not giue eare to *Samuel*, prophecying vnto him the losse of his kingdome, but sought to retaine it by the helpe

[r] *Respons. ad quæst. 52.*

of

of witches, God counted him vnworthie to vnderstande what should come to passe by anie seruants of his. Theodorete in his questions vpon the first booke of Kings, doth reiect this opinion, that the witch raised vp Samuel, not as false only, but as impious also. His woords are. [f] *Quomodo oportet intelligere de ventriloqua? Nonnulli dicunt eam verè retulisse Samuelem. Nõnulli autem hoc refellerunt. Ego quidem* PRIMVM EXISTIMO ESSE IMPIVM. *Existimo enim mulieres necromanticas ne quamlibet quidem reducere animam, tantum abest, vt propheta, & tanti propheta. Est enim perspicuum, quod in aliquo alio loco degunt animæ expectantes resurrectionem corporum.* EST ERGO VALDE IMPIVM *credere ventriloquam habere vim tantam.* What shall we say concerning the witch? Some thinke shee truly raised vp Samuel; Some others refell it. I think the first to be a WICKED imagination. For I resolue that witches can raise no mans soule, much lesse the soule of a prophet, and of so great a prophet. It is euident that the soules (of the dead) are in a place besides this world; expecting ỹ resurrectiõ of their bodies. It is therfore VERY IMPIOVS to beleeue ỹ a witch hath so great power. And where *Theodoret* alledgeth a place of the Chronicles to proue, [g] *Quod ipse deus vniuersorum, efformata vt voluit specie Samuelis, protulit sententiam, & minime per aduersarios protulit sententiã*; That God himselfe framing the shape of *Samuel* as pleased him, pronounced the sentence, and did not giue that iudgement by his aduersaries: there are no such woordes in the Text as he quoteth. For he citeth them thus: [h] *Et mortuus est Saul in suis iniquitatibus, in quibus peccauit domino super eloquium domini, propterea quod ipsum nõ custodiuit, & quod interrogauit Saul in ventriloqua, vt exquireret,* ET RESPONDIT SAMVEL PROPHETA, *& non exquisiuit in domino, & occidit eum.* Saul died in his sinnes, in which he sinned against the Lord, as touching the word of ỹ lord which he performed not, & also in that Saul consulted the witch, to know what successe he should haue. And *Samuel* the prophet answered him, & *Saul* sought not the lord, & he slue him. These woordes, AND SAMVEL THE PROPHET ANSWERED HIM,

[f] *Theodoret. quæstionum in lib. 1. Regum quæst. 62*

[g] *Ibidem.*

[h] *Idem. quæst. 62*

are

[x] *Vide lib. 1. Paralip cap. 10. ver. 13. & 14.*

are not in the booke of [x] Chronicles; and therefore Theodorets foundation being false, his conclusion that God spake these wordes, and not the diuell, is no way iustifiable. Besides, if God had saide, that Saul and his sonnes after death should bee with (God;) as hee that spake to Saule saide they should be with him; God had promised vnto Saul ETERNAL LIFE after his departure hence; which is a plaine contrarietie to the wordes of the Scripture, that saith; [y] SAUL DIED IN HIS SINNES. The first part then of Theodorets resolution, that a witch could not raise the soule of Samuel, is sound and true diuinitie; the second, that God made a shape of Samuel, and thereby answered Saul, is not proued by any scripture, though it be so supposed by Theodoret.

[y] *1. Paral. ca. 10. vers. 13.*

S. Austen disputing the matter on both sides, though he no way yeeld that the witch was able to raise vp soules; yet hee saith, [z] *Non est absurdum credere, ex aliqua dispensatione diuinæ voluntatis permissum fuisse, vt nõ inuitus, nec dominante aut subiugante magica potentia, sed volens & obtẽperans occultæ dispensationi dei, quæ & pythonissam illam, & Saulem latebat, cõsentiret spiritus Prophetæ sancti se ostendi aspectibus regis, diuina eum sententia percussurus.* It is no absurditie to thinke, that by some dispensation of the diuine pleasure it was permitted, that the soule of the holie Prophet, not against his will, nor ouerruled or forced by anie magicall power, but willing and obeying the secrete will of God, which was hidde both from the witch, and from *Saul*, should shewe it selfe to the kings sight, to the end it might the more astonish him with the iudgement of God. And albeit he make this possible, yet he inclineth rather to this opinion as the easier, and likelier, that the whole was but the deceite and worke of Satan. [a] *Quanquam in hoc facto, potest esse alius* FACILIOR *intellectus &* EXPEDITIOR *exitus, vt non vere spiritum* Samuels *excitatum a sua requie credamus, sed aliquod phantasma, et imaginariam illusionem diaboli machinationibus factam, quam propter ea scriptura nomine* Samuelis *appellat, quia solent imagines, rerum earum nominibus*

[z] *Ad Simplician. lib. 2. quæst. 3.*

[a] *Ibidem.*

nominibus appellari, quarum imagines sunt. Although in this fact, there may bee another more easier vnderstanding, and freer from (all) difficulties, if wee beleeue that the soule of *Samuel* indeede was not raised from his rest, but that it was a phantasme, and illusion wrought by the craft of Satan; which the scripture therefore calleth by the name of *Samuel*, because resemblances are woont to bee called by the names of those things which they resemble. The selfe same word for word hee [b]repeateth in his answere to the questions which Dulcitius proposed vnto him; and albeit in these places he stay indifferently betwixt both, or incline faintly to the one; yet in his bookes *De doctrina Christiana* he calleth it a Sacrilegious representation of Samuels image. [c] *Non enim quia imago Samuelis mortui Sauli regi vera prænunciarit, propterea talia sacrilegia, quibus imago illa præsentata est, minus execranda sunt.* Neither, because the image of dead *Samuel* foretold truth to king *Saul*, are such SACRILEGIES, BY VVHICH THAT IMAGE VVAS SHEVVED, the lesse to be DETESTED.

[b] *Ad octo Dulcitij quæstiones quæst. 6*

[c] *De doct. Christiana. li. 2. ca. 23*

But if it were the soule of Samuel that appeared, and no illusion of the diuell presenting himself in the habit of Samuel, the storie no way conuinceth that Samuel was in hell. The witch said, I saw gods ascending out of the earth; but her sight is no good proofe, where the soules of the iust are, or whence they come, the diuell might easily delude her, and make her beleeue, hee came out of the earth, that came from another place. Againe if the bodie of Samuel were taken vp for his soule to appeare in; that was raised out of the earth, though the soule of Samuel came from Abrahams bosome; so hee necessarily must rise out of the earth, if his bodie rose withall, as we all shall at the generall resurrection. And where the image of Samuel saide to Saul, [d] To morrow thou and thy sonnes shall be with vs; he did not meane their soules should be in the same receptacles after death, but as Austen saieth: [e] *Mortuus mortem viuo prænunciabat*. He that was dead, foreshewed the death of him that liued; [e] *vt non ad æqualitatem felicitatis*

Neither opinio proueth that Samuels soule was in hell.

[d] 1. Sam. 28.

[e] *Ad Simplic. lib. 2. quæst. 3*

citatis, sed ad parem conditionem mortis referatur: That it should be referred to the like condition of death, & not to the fruition of the same felicitie. For if we so take the words, Thou shalt be to morrow with mee, *vtiq; falsum est*; it is certainly false, saith Austen. [f] *Magno quippe interuallo post mortem separari bonos a malis in Euangelio legimus, cum dominus inter superbum illum diuitem, cum iam apud inferos tormenta pateretur, & illum, qui ad eius ianuam vlcerosus iacebat, iam in requie constitutum, magnum chaos interiectum testetur.* That the good are after death separated frō the bad by a mightie distance, we read in the Gospel, where the Lord witnesseth, that there is a great gulfe interiected betweene the proude rich man, when hee was tormented in hell, and the poore Lazare now in rest, which lay full of sores at the rich mans gate. And so whether we take it to be the soule of Samuel that spake to Saul, or a Magicall illusion of Satan transforming himselfe into the shape of Samuel, neither way proueth that Samuel was in hell: howbeit I rather imbrace the reasons that are extant in the 3. questions of the olde testament vnder the name of S. Austen, cited in the Canon law, which though they be not Austens, are verie ancient. [h] *Indignum facinus est-imo, si secundum verba historiæ commodetur assensus. Quomodo enim fieri poterat, vt arte magica attraheretur vir & natiuitate sanctus, & vitæ operibus iustus? Aut si non attractus est, consensit: quod vtrumq; de viro iusto credere absurdum est. Porro hæc est præstigium Satanæ, qua, vt plurimos fallat, etiam bonos in pœnitentiæ se habere confingit. Historicus mentem Saul, & habitum Samuelis describit, ea quæ dicta & visa sunt exponens, prætermittens si vera an falsa sint. Quid enim ait? Audiens in quo habitu esset excitatus, intellexit, hunc esse Samuelem. Quid intellexerit retulit, & quia non bene intellexit, contra scripturā, aliud adorauit quam deum, & putans Samuelem adorauit diabolum, vt fructum fallaciæ suæ haberet Satanas. Si enim vere Samuel illi apparuisset, non vtiq; vir iustus permisisset se adorari, qui prædicauerat deū solum adorandū. Et quomodo homo dei, qui cū Abraham in refrigerio erat dicebat ad virum pestilentiæ, digitum ardore gehennæ,*

f *Quæst. ex vet. test. mensu. quæst. 27.*

h *Caus. 26. quæst. 5. §. 14. nec mirū.*

gehennæ, eras mecum eris? His duobus titulis subtilitatem fallaciæ suæ prodidit improuidus Satan, quia & adorari se permisit sub habitu & nomine Samuelis contra legem: & virum peccatis pressum, cum magna distantia peccatorum & iustorum sit, cum Samuele iustissimo futurum mentitus est. Ad eum enim transmigrauit (Saul) *quem adorauit*, I take it to be a wicked act, if we acknowledge the storie according to the words. For how could it be that a man holie in birth, and iust in life should bee drawne (from the place of his rest) by the power of a witch? If he were not drawne (against his will) hee consented (to come;) both which are absurd to beleeue of so iust a person. And this is the sleight of Satan, that to deceiue the more, hee maketh as if the iust were in his hands. The storie doth describe the mind of *Saul*, and the shew of *Samuel*, expressing what was seene and said, but pretermitting how true or false either was. For what saith it? *Saul* hearing in what habite (the spirite) was raised, vnderstoode it to be *Samuel*. It reporteth what (*Saul*) conceiued, and because hee conceiued amisse, hee adored another then God, against the scripture; and thinking it to bee *Samuel*, worshipped the Diuell, that Satan might reape the fruite of his fallacie. For if *Samuel* had indeede appeared vnto him, the iust person woulde neuer haue suffered himselfe to bee worshipped, which preached God alone to be worshipped. And how did the man of god, that was with *Abraham* in rest, say to that pestilent man, worthie of hell fire, to morrowe thou shalt bee with me? By these two wayes Satan afore he was ware betraied his fraudulent subtiltie, because he suffered himselfe to be worshipped vnder the habite and name of *Samuel*, against (Gods) lawe; and lied, that *Saul* loden with sinne should after death be with righteous *Samuel*, whereas there is a great distance betwixt the iust and vniust (after this life;) and *Saul* went hence to him, whom he worshipped.

[If the fathers so much varie and dissent from themselues, and from others, why do I presse their testimonie touching Christs descent to hell?] I presse them no further then they

accord with the words of the scripture, and with the grounds of faith, wherein they all concurre with one consent. When they swarue aside, or part asunder, I dissemble it not; wishing the reader, as not to regarde their priuate opinions without good proofe, so not to reiect their generall confession in matters of faith agreeing with the scriptures, without better demonstration then I yet see made for the contrarie. That the diuell was destroied, and man deliuered by Christes death from the feare of death, is no supposall of mine or theirs, but the manifest conclusion of the holy ghost. That Christ [k] in his owne person spoiled powers and principalities, and openly triumphed ouer them, that [l] death and hell might bee swallowed vp in victorie, is not mans imagination, but the Apostles resolution. That Christs [m] soule was in hell, and there not [m] forsaken, if Dauids prediction, and Peters application were not plaine inough, S. Lukes interpretation is so pregnant, that without wrong to the word, it can not bee pared. Lay these together, and see what they lacke of Christs soule descending into hell. His being there must needs inferre his descending thither. And yet least some scrupulous person should sticke at the phrase of Christs DESCENDING INTO HEL, I think S. Paul hath words equiualent to them. [n] Ascending on high he led captiuitie captiue. That he ascended, what is it, but that he FIRST DESCENDED into the lower partes of the earth? He that descended, is euen the same that ascended aboue al the heauens, that he might fil al. If hell be any where, there can be no doubt but it must be in the lower parts of the earth. From the earth vpward is heauen, where hell can not be. Christ then DESCENDED into the lower partes of the earth, and thence ledde captiuitie captiue, that hee might fill all (places) with his presence. Christs sepulchre was in the higher parts of the earth, [o] hewen out in a rock, and thence he might lead the death of the bodie captiue, but not the diuell, that was ruler ouer death, and had a chalenge to the soules of men that came not neare their graues. Since then ascending from the lower parts of

I vrge not the fathers but agreeing with the scriptures and with themselues.

[k] Heb 2.
[l] Colos. 2.

[l] 1. Cor. 15.

[m] Acts 2.

[n] Ephes. 4.

[o] Mat. 27.

the

the earth, he lead captiue, all the powers, that held man in bondage; and those chiefelie were the powers of hell, which had interest into the soule of man by reason of sinne; it must needes bee that Christ descended to those partes of the earth, where mans captiuitie was strongest, which is in hell: and thence freed him by his presence, and led those captiues, that ruled ouer him, as conquerour of all the power of the deuill and darkenesse, whose prisoner man was, before hee was redeemed. Againe, hee first descended to the lowest, and then ascended to the highest, that he might fill all places with his presence. If hee descended not to hell, howe filled hee that place, where hee neuer was, except with the brightnesse of his diuine glorie, which is euerie where present without descending or ascending? But the Apostle saith he descended to the lowest, and ascended to the highest, that he might fill all (places) with the presence of his manhode, all knees in heauen, earth, and hell bowing vnto the exaltation of his humane nature.

And if the lower partes of the earth, whither Christ descended to leade captiuitie captiue, bee not lowe enough to shewe the situation of hell; Saint Paul hath plainer wordes of Christes descending as lowe as might bee; when he writeth to the Romanes in this wise. P Say not in thine heart, who shall ascende into heauen? (that is, to bring Christ downe from aboue,) or who shal DESCEND INTO THE DEEPE? (that is, to bring Christ backe from the deade.) Christ dying DESCENDED INTO THE DEEPE, as rising from the deade, hee ascended into heauen. Nowe the deepe is so lowe, that no place canne be lower; yea hell it selfe, and the prison of Diuels is knowne by that name in the newe Testament. When the spirits, that possessed the mad man amongst the Gadarens, were to bee cast out by Christ, q they besought him, that hee would not commaund them εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἀπελθεῖν, to departe into the deepe. In the Reuelation of Saint Iohn, hell is called, r τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου, the

Christs descending into the deep, and into hel are al one.

P Rom. 10

q Luke. 8

r Reuelat. 9. verse 1. & 2.

[r] *Ibidem. ver.* 11

the pit of the deepe, and the Diuell is there named [r] the Angell, τῆς ἀβύσσου, of the deepe: yea the verie place, where the Diuell is shut vp, is expressed by that word; [f] I sawe an Angell (saith Saint Iohn) come downe from heauen, hauing τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου, the key of the deepe, and a great chaine in his hand. And he took the dragon that olde serpent, which is called the diuell, and bounde him, and cast him εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον into the deep, & shut him vp. If ἄβυσσος be a bottomles deep, then which can nothing be deeper; if in the scriptures it properly signifie the verie dungeon of hel, where the diuels are kept; the Apostle then auouching that Christ, when hee died, DESCENDED εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, INTO THE BOTTOMLES DEEP, doth clearely confirme that he descended into hell. As therefore, if we aske who can descend into the deep, or ascend into heauen, we reuerse Christs being among the dead and his sitting at the right hand of God in the heauens, so if we confesse the both to be verified in Christ (& but in Christ they neuer were nor euer shalbe verified of any man) we must no more deny ỹ he descended into the bottomles pit, which is hell, then ỹ he ascended into ỹ heauens; both are necessary partes of our redemption, & euident proofes of his mighty operatiõ. We must be freed frõ hel, before we can be placed in heauen; and if Christ haue omitted either, he hath performed neither.

[f] Reuel. 20. κλεῖδα.

Christ descended into the bottomlesse deepe.

What marualle then, if the ancient fathers with one consent, make Christs descent to hel, a material point of our redemption, and preache it as an appendix to faith; since it hath so good ground, and such proofe in the scriptures, howsoeuer they or we doubt, where the soules of the righteous were before Christs suffering. [t] *Crux, mors, inferi, salus nostra est*, saith Hilary; The crosse, death, and descent (*of Christ*) to hell are our saluation. [u] *Diuinitas neque corpus in monumento, neq; anima in inferno destituit. hoc est enim, quod dictũ est per prophetã, non relinques animã meã apud inferos, neq; dabis sanctũ tuũ videre corruptionem. Quocirca in* ANIMA *quidẽ* CHRISTI MORS DEVICTA EST, *resurrectioq; ab inferis depromptа, & spiritibus annunciata*

The descent to hell after death, a part of our redemption.

[t] *De Trinitat. lib.* 2

[u] *Athanas. de salutari aduentu Christi.*

est

est: in corpore vero dei corruptio abolita est, et incorruptibilitas è sepulchro emicuit. (Christs) deity neither forsooke his body in the sepulchre, nor his soule in hel. For ỹ is ỹ meaning of the Prophet, whē he saith; Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hel, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruptiō. Wherfore in THE SOVLE OF CHRIST DEATH VVAS CONQVERED, and the resurrection from hell performed, and signified to the spirits, (that rose with him:) In the body of (him that was) God, corruption was abolished, & incorruption shined out of the graue. Yea Austen himself putteth great difference betwixt the certainty of Christes descent to hell, and the vncertainty of deliuering of some soules thence, which he found there, as he imagineth. [x] *Teneamus firmissimè Quod fides habet fundatissimâ auctoritate firmata; quia Christus mortuus est secundum scripturas, et cætera quæ de illo restante veritate conscripta sunt: in quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud Inferos fuit; solutis eorū doloribus, quibus eū erat impossibile teneri.* Let vs hold most firmly, ỹ which ỹ faith containeth, confirmed with most assured authority, that Christ died according to the scriptures; & the rest ỹ is written of him by the testimony of the truth, amongst ỹ which this is also to be nūbred, ỹ he was in hel, dissoluing ỹ paines therof. Of which it was impossible he should be held. Thus far doth Austen vrge the very articles of our faith confirmed by the scriptures, & that maketh him infer, [y] who then but an infidel wil deny that Christ was in hell? But when he commeth to the second point of deliuering some from hel, that were in the paines thereof, he tempereth his stile and saith, [z] *à quibus recte intelligitur soluisse & liberasse, quos voluit;* from which paines Christ may well be conceaued, to haue loosed and deliuered whom he would; & that which Peter saith, loosing the sorrowes of hel, [a] *accipi potest in quibusdā*; may be vnderstood of some, whom he thought worthy to be deliuered. For which since there can bee no sure proofe brought out of the worde of trueth; we shall doe best to giue eare to his owne aduise in the like case. [b] *Ergo fratres sive illud sive istud sit, hic me scrutatorem verbi dei, non temerarium affirmatorem teneatis.*

[x] Augustin. epist. 99.

[y] Ibidem.

[z] Ibidem.

[a] Ibidem.

[b] Augustin. in Psalmum 85.

Therefore

Therefore brethren whether this or that bee it, heere take me as a searcher of the word of God, and not as a rash affirmer.

Christ deliuered the bodies of some saints, from the power of hel: that is, he raised thé from death.

All the defence that may be made out of the Scriptures, that Christ deliuered some of the saints out of the present possession and power of hell; is that which is written in the gospell of Saint Matthew, touching the bodies of the saintes rising from death. When Jesus yeelded vp the ghost; [c] Behold the vaile of the temple rent in twaine, and the earth did quake, and the stones did cleaue; and the graues did open themselues, and many bodies of the Saints, which slept, arose; and came out of the graues after his resurrection, and went into the holy cittie and appeared to many. The death of the bodie, as it is parte of the wages of sinne; so is it the [d] gate of hell; and the Diuell is saide in the scriptures to haue the [e] power thereof. So that howsoeuer the soules of the iust were in the handes of God, and at rest in Abrahams bosom, their bodies lying dead in the graue, & rotten with corruption were within Satans walke; and when Christ raised them out of their sepulchers to an happie life, he toke them from the power of darknes; and translated them into the kingdome of light. [f] Death is an enemie, though the last that shall be destroied; and [g] death, as well as hell, shall be cast into the lake of fire; and therefore Christ toke the keyes both of [h] death, and of hell; and by his rising from the dead insulted against both; ô death, where is thy sting? ô hell, where is thy victory? It is the force of sinne that killeth the bodie; and likewise the force of sinne that rotteth the bodie; sinne being the strength of hell against bodie and soule. As then our soules are freed from the power of hell, when our sinnes are remitted; so our bodies are deliuered from the handfast of hel, when corruption, the consequent of sinne, is abolished. In this sense it may bee saide, that Christ deliuered some from the power of hell, that is, their bodies from the sepulchers where they late turned into dust. For by death and corruption the sinnefull flesh of man is till the resurrection subiected to the range of Satan, hee beeing the

[c] Matth. 27
[d] Esay. 38
[e] Hebre. 2
[f] 1. Corinth. 15
[g] Reuelat. 20
[h] Reuel. 1.
[i] 1. Corinth. 15

the [k] Prince of the ayre, and [l] gouernour of darknesse, and [m] ruler of death.

[k] Ephes. 2
[l] Ephes. 6
[m] Hebre. 2

Saint Austen doubteth, whether those bodies of the saints were wholie freed from corruption; or laie down againe in death after they had giuen witnesse to Christs resurrection.

Whether the bodies of the saints, that rose with christ slept againe or no.

[n] *Scio quibusdam videri, morte domini Christi iam talem resurrectionem præstitã iustis, qualis nobis in fine promittitur; Qui vtique si non iterum repositis corporibus dormierunt, videndum est quemadmodum Christus intelligatur primogenitus à mortuis si eum in illa resurrectione tot præcesserunt.* I know (saith Austen) some thinke, that at the death of the Lord Christ the same kind of resurrection was performed to the iust, which is promised to vs in the ende of the worlde: but if they slept not againe, by laying downe their bodies, we must looke howe Christ can be vnderstood to be the first borne of the dead, if so many went before him in that resurrection. But his reasons are of no such force, as to perswade, that the bodies of the saintes, which rose with Christ, slept againe in their graues, and returned to corruption; yea that would somewhat impeach the power of Christs resurrection, if it were able to raise them to life, but not preserue them in life; and the whole fact will seeme rather an apparition, then a true resurrection. His first obiection is answered in the text it selfe. For the saints did not rise before Christ, but after Christ; and so still Christ was the first borne from the dead. The wordes of the text are; [o] manie bodies of the saintes, which slept arose; and came out of the graues AFTER HIS RESVRRECTION. Nowe to thinke that they rose presentlie vpõ his death, & staied aliue in their graues till he was risen, is a vaine imagination, and a waie rather to punish them with a wearisome life, then to prefer them to a comfortable resurrection. His second reason hath some more shew, but it is not sufficiẽt to conclude his intention. [p] It seemeth hard (saith he) that *Dauid* should not be in that resurrection of the iust, if it were eternall, of whose seede Christ is so often commended to vs with so great honor and euidence,

[n] *Augustin. epist.* 99.

[o] Matth. 27.

[p] *Augustin. Epistola.* 99.

dence. And if Dauid rose with them, Peters proofe vnto the Iewes is verie weake, when hee saith, [q] Dauid is deade and buried; and his sepulchre remaineth with vs vnto this daie. For if Dauids body were risen before the speaking of those words, his sepulchre was emptie; and concluded nothing for Peters purpose. For aunswere hereto, the holie Ghost had no meaning by Peters mouth to proone that Dauid laie then in his graue, when those woordes were spoken; but onelie that Dauid saw corruption, as his sepulchre remaining to that daie conuinced; wherein his bodie was buried aboue a thousand yeares before Christes comming, and consequentlie must needs be turned into dust many hundreds before Peter spake the woorde. His prediction therfore, that God would not suffer his holy one to see corruption, could no waie pertaine to himselfe, but must bee verified in some other, which was Christ; and so Peters argument was verie sound and cleere; whether Dauids ashes were then in his sepulchre or no. Peters other allegation, that [r] Dauid is not ascended into heauen, doth not hinder, but Dauid might be translated into Paradise, with the rest of the saints, that rose from the dead, when Christ did; but it is a full probation, that Dauids body was not then ascended, when Christ sate in his humane flesh at the right hand of God, which expresseth the power and glorie, whereunto the bodie of Christ was exalted by his ascension into heauen. So that here Austen hath some hold to proue, that Dauid did not ascende in body, when Christ did; or at least not to heauen, whither Christ ascended; because in plaine woordes Peter saith, Dauid is not ascended into heauen; but either the bodies of the saints slept againe, when they had giuen testimony to Christs resurrection; or they were placed in Paradise, and there expect the number of their brethren, which shall bee raised out of the dust; or lastlie Dauid was none of those, that were raised to beare witnesse of Christes resurrection; but onelie such were chosen, as were knowne to the persons then liuing in Hierusalem. Whatsoeuer it was, [s] melius est dubitare

[q] Acres, 2.

Dauid saw corruptiō though he were then risen from corruption, but Christs flesh neuer putrified

[r] Acts, 2, ver. 34

[s] August. de ge-

debitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis. It is better (as Austen saith) to doubt of things (vnknown and) hid, then to striue about things vncertain. The last reason of S. Austen, that [t] God so prouided for vs, that the fathers of the olde testament without vs, should not be perfect; proueth not, that al the saints in Paradise lacke their bodies; for then we must deny that Henoch was [u] translated, not to see death; and that Elias was [x] taken vp by a whirlewind into heaue; as also that he was [y] seene on the mount talking with Christ, which are directly affirmed by the scriptures; but it will make some proofe, that they haue not y same perfection of ioie and blisse, which they shall haue, when all the members of Christ are receaued into glorie.

neſi ad literam li. 8. cap. 5.

[t] Hebre. 11.

[u] Hebre. 11

[x] 4. Regum. 2

[y] Matth. 17

There remaineth one obiection, which must be aunsered, before I ende. And that is, Christ saide to the theefe which confessed him on the crosse: [z] This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise; how then could Christs soule be three daies in hell, except we grant it might be in manie places at once? S. Austē laboreth in his 57. epistle to remoue this stumbling blocke; and after some turnes and windings, he thus concludeth. [a] *Est autem sensus multo expeditior, & ab his omnibus ambiguitatibus liber, si non secundum id quod homo erat, sed secundum id quod deus erat, Christus dixisse accipiatur: Hodie mecū eris in paradiso. Homo quippe Christus, illo die secundū carnem in sepulchro, secundum animam in inferno futurus erat. Deus vero idē ipse Christus vbique semper est.* The far easier vnderstanding, and free from al these ambiguities is; if wee take Christ to speake those wordes, This day shalt thou bee WITH MEE in Paradise, not of his manhoode, but of his Godhead. For the man Christ was that day in the graue according to his flesh, and in hell as touching his soule; but the same Christ as God is alwaies euery where. And though this answere please that learned Father best, that Christ should speake of the theeues soule, and his diuine presence in Paradise, yet wee haue no warrant in the Word of God so to fasten Christs soule vnto hel for the time of his death, that it might not bee in Paradise before it descended

[z] Luke. 23

[a] Augustī. epist. 57.

into hell; and he first shew himselfe to the saints to their unspeakeable comfort, before hee went to subiect the powers of darkenesse vnder his yoke. That hee [b] descended into the deep, must be receaued, because it is auouched by the apostle; but what time he went, or how long he staied, as also what maner of triumph he brought thence, cannot bee limited by anie mortall man; In all these cases I thinke it safest to particularize nothing, which is not defined in the worde of God: there may be likelihoods, but the consciences of the faithfull must not bee enforced, except to certainties. This is that I thought fit to be saide touching Christes descent to hell; vrging the force and fruite of his going thither, or appearing there, to subiect the whole strength and kingdome of Satan vnto himselfe, and to acquite all his members from comming thither; but the time or manner of his descending, I dare not determine, least I should auert you from truth to fables.

[b] Rom. 10

Farre surer is the former doctrine, teaching the redemption of mankinde by the death of Christ to bee all-sufficient and euerlasting, wherein the scriptures being euident and the Fathers consonant, I shall neede no more words; I will therefore close them both with the confession of Fulgentius, who liued 500. yeeres after Christ, and so commend you to God.

[c] *Deus verus & viuus, imo deus veritas et vita aterna, nisi idem verus homo fieret, mortẽ gustare non posset. Et idẽ homo qui mortem gustauit, si verus deus & vita aterna non esset mortẽ vincere non valeret. Excepto illo qui sic homo est vt idem sit deus, quis est homo qui destruxerit mortem, aut quis eruet animam suã de manu inferi? mors autem filij dei, quam* SOLA CARNE *suscepit* VTRAMQVE IN NOBIS MORTEM, *animæ scilicet carnisque destruxit, & resurrectio carnis eius, gratiam nobis & spiritualis & corporalis resurrectionis attribuit, vt prius iustificati per fidem mortis & resurrectionis filij dei, resuscitemur ab infidelitatis morte, & post primam resurrectionem scilicet animarum, qua nobis in fide collocata est, etiam ista carne, in*

[c] Fulgent. de incarnat. & gratia dom. nostri Iesu christi. ca. 8.

qua

qua nunc viuimus, resurgamus, nunquam denuo morituri. The true and liuing God, yea the God that is truth it self, and life euerlasting, if he were not also true man, could not haue tasted death, and that man which tasted death, except he had beene likewise the true God, and eternall life, hee could not haue conquered death. Sauing he that was both God and man, what man could haue destroied death, or deliuered his own soule from the power of hell? But the death of the sonne of God VVHICH HE SVFFERED IN HIS FLESH ONELIE, destroied both deaths in vs, as well of soule as bodie; and the resurrection of his flesh gaue vs the grace both of a spirituall and corporall resurrection, that being first iustified by faith in the death and resurrection of the sonne of God, we might bee raised from the death of infidelitie; and after the first resurrection which is of the soule, (from sinne,) giuen vs by faith, we may also rise in this flesh, in which we now liue, neuer to die anie more.[d] *Cum* SOLA CARO MORERETVR ET RESVSCITARETVR IN CHRISTO *propter vnitatem personæ dei & hominis, filius dei dicitur mortuus. Totum igitur* HOMINEM *cum suis infirmitatibus sine peccato dei filius accepit; in tota traditus idem Christus,* SECVNDVM SOLAM CARNEM MORTVVS, *Totus Christus secundum solam animam ad infernum descendit. Humanitas ergo vera filij dei, nec tota fuit in sepulchro, nec tota in inferno, sed in sepulchro secundum carnem Christus mortuus iacuit, & secundum animam ad infernum Christus descendit. Secundum diuinitatem vero suam, quæ nec loco tenetur, nec fine concluditur, totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne, totus in inferno cum anima. Ac per hoc plenus fuit vbiq; Christus, quia non est deus ab humanitate, quam susceperat separatus, qui & in anima fuit, vt solutis inferni doloribus* AB INFERNO VICTRIX REDIRET, *& in carne sua fuit, vt celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset.* Whereas ONELIE THE FLESH died, and was raised againe in Christ, yet for the vnitie of the person, being God and man; the sonne of God is said to haue died. The whole nature of man then with our infirmities, the sonne of God tooke vnto him for our sakes,

[d] *Fulgent. de passione domini ad Trasim. lib. 3.*

but without sinne. in the whole nature the same Christ being deliuered, DIED ACCORDING TO THE FLESH ONLY, and whole Christ descended into hell according to the soule onlie. So that the true manhood of the sonne of God, was neither whole in the sepulchre, nor whole in hell, but in the sepulchre Christ lay dead in his true flesh; and in his soule Christ descended into hell. But as touching his diuinitie, which is neither comprehended in place, nor measured with end, whole Christ was in the graue with his flesh, and whole Christ in hell with his soule. And thereby whole Christ was euery where: because his Godhead was not seuered from his manhood; but was with his soule, that dissoluing the sorrowes of hell, it might returne conqueror from hell; and with his flesh, that speedilie rising, it might not see corruption.

The darke places of Peter, that Christ by his spirit preached vnto the spirites (that are now) in prison, which in the daies of *Noe* were disobedient whiles the Arke was preparing: and
[e] 1. Pet. 3.
[f] 1. Pet. 4.
likewise that [f] the Gospell was preached vnto the dead; I omit as nothing pertinent to Christs descent to hell; the first being verified in the time, and by the mouth of Noe; and the second performed by the preaching of the Apostles, as Saint Austen long since obserued; who saith of the first, *Considera ne forte totum illud quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad hæc tempora transtulit.*
[g] *August. epist. 99.*
Take heede least happily all that which *Peter* speaketh of spirits closed in prison, which beleeued not in the daies of Noe, doe not at all pertaine to hell, but rather to those times which *Peter* compareth with our age: and of the second, [h] *Quod Petrus dicit, propter hoc & mortuis Euangelizatum est, vt iudicentur secundum homines in carne, viuant autem secundum deum spiritu, non togit apud inferos intelligi. Propterea enim in hac vita & mortuis Euangelizatum est, id est, infidelibus & iniquis, vt cum crediderint, iudicentur secundum homines in carne, hoc est, in diuersis tribulationibus & in ipsa*
[h] *Ibidem.*

morte

morte carnis. That which Peter saieth; (to this purpose was the Gospel preached vnto the deade, that they might bee iudged according to men in the flesh, but liue according to God in the spirit;) hath no necessitie to be applied to hell. For the Gospel is preached in this life to the dead, that is to the infidels and sinners, that when they beleeue they might be iudged in the flesh after the maner of men, by diuerse troubles, and euen by the death of the flesh. This I repeate the rather, because some late writers haue borrowed Saint Austens exposition, and suppressed Saint Austens name; as if they were the first that euer looked into the truth of these places. Other reasons there are, but they are not worth the ripping vp; I will therefore trouble you no further.

To the father that spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all; to the sonne that laide downe his life for vs, and redeemed vs with his precious bloud; to the holie Ghost which sealeth the sufferings and comforts of Christ in our harts; euen to the king euerlasting, immortal, inuisible, and God onelie wise, be honour and glorie, for euer and euer. Amen.

the cleering of certaine obiections made against the doctrine before handled.

I Promised thee (Christian reader) in ỹ preface of this booke, to giue thée a tast in the conclusion how rashly & weakly the doctrine, which thou hast now read, was confuted, before it was printed, by one that professeth [a] *He could not forbeare but imploy his talent to cleare the holy cause* (as he calleth it) *from all the corrupt fansies and vaine imaginations of men:* which, God willing, I meane now to performe. Thou must not looke that I will waste time and paper to settle a giddie head, or stoppe a running tounge; but when by some particulars I haue made it appeare how vnfit he is to bée refuted, or so much as regarded by mée; I will leaue him to the depth of his follies. For though he point plainlie to my sermons, in directing his treatise: [b] *contrary to certaine errors publikly preached in London*, and sticketh not to [c] *name me*; yet because he flyeth from the state of the chiefe Question which I impugned, and taketh the paines to ouer skip all my authorities with silence, if not with contempt, and in reporting my reasons forgetteth and dissembleth what pleaseth himselfe, as also in the defence of his holie cause he roueth as he listeth, neither kéeping himself to any order, nor bringing any matter of moment, but confusedlie powring out the hastie resolutions of his owne braines, spiced euerie where with ignorant & absurd positions: neither my leasure nor my liking suffer me to séeke him out, that hath so farre lost himselfe, nor to vouchsafe him an answere, that so proudlie despiseth all authoritie and antiquitie, which sorteth not with his fansie. I will therefore shew thée (good Reader) some exam-

[a] Pag. 3.
[b] pag. 1
[c] Pag. 89.

ples of his insolent reteaching the Fathers, of his forgetfull or wilfull altering my reasons, of his impertinent proouing that which is not questioned, and skipping that which should bee proued, of his erroneous and dangerous assertions, of his intolerable ignorance in the tongue, whereof he so much vaunteth, and then leaue thee to God, if thou loath not the reading, as I did the writing before thou come to the end.

[a] Galat 6. Where I take for my text, these words of S. Paule, [a] God forbid that I should reioice but in the crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to me and I to the world. This cōfuter would beare men in hand, that I misse take my text, & forced a false conclusion from it. [b] Pag 31. *This* (saith hee) "*is not onely an obiection, but euen a foundation and principall* "*ground of this errour, but so mistaken and forced as nothing may* "*be more.* My reasō hee maketh to be this; *Christs soule was not* "*crucified but only his bodie; therefore Christs bodie onlie suffe-* "*red, and not his soule.* By this (gentle reader) it may plainlie be perceiued, how well this gainsaier obserued my proofs. I drewe no reason from these words, but proposing them for my theme, take occasion from them to laie downe; first the contents of Christs crosse, how far it extended; and then the effects of Christs crosse, how much it performed, which is the generall methode of the whole treatise. In the contents of Christs crosse my words are these. Rightly then maie the Crosse note all manner of miseries, forsomuch as our Sauiour going from the garden to the graue suffered all sorts of afflictions; which I before specifying amongst others named these, shame, reproch, and all sorts of deadlie paines, besides heauines of hart, and agonie of mind, which oppressed him in the garden; and this I made no different signification, but rather a participation of the crosse of Christ. When I came to Christs sufferings on the Tree, as Peter speaketh, I vsed these plaine words: the rest (of his torments) which went before, not being excluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that sharp & extreame martirdome which he suffered on the Crosse.

Vide pag. 4.

Did

Did I then make any such conclusion out of these words of Paul as you imagine, Sir confuter? or did rather your wit & memorie so slenderlie serue you, that you could not conceiue or carry away the maine methode of my sermons, distinctly laid downe at my first entrance into this matter? But as you begin with my Theme, so you continue with the whole discourse, mistaking, forgetting, peruerting and maiming all that I alledged or concluded.

[d] *Neuertheless you take it to bee cleare*, that this text was *mistaken by me, for the Apostle here speaketh not of the personall sufferings of Christ, but of the godlie, which they suffer for Christs truth sake.* To dimme eies thy light is clearer then Sunne shine; and to a man of your vnderstanding falsehood may bee clearer then truth; but knowe you Sir H. I. that I mistooke not my text. For albeit the CROSSE bee some times taken for the afflictions of the godlie; yet THE CROSSE OF CHRIST is no where in the scriptures so taken. Again though we be [e] permitted and [f] commanded to reioice in our afflictions, yet to make it a thing detestable to reioice in anie thing else, as the Apostle here doth, by saying, God forbid that I should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ; hath no ground in diuinitie. Himselfe saieth else where; [g] Of such a man (as was taken vp into Paradise) will I reioice; of my selfe I will not reioyce, except it bee of mine infirmities. Our Sauiour saieth to his Disciples, [h] Reioice rather because your names are written in heauen. But of Christ crucified, it is pietie and dutie to say; God forbid that wee should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ. For as to the Corinths the Apostle refuseth [i] all knowledge saue of Christ, and him crucified: so here hee renounceth all reioycing saue in the Crosse of Christ, that is in Christ crucified. This to bee the full and plaine meaning of the Apostle in this place is to me as cleare as daie light, and I hope will so seeme to thee (Christian Reader) if thou marke the words of Saint Paul in the 12. verse of this verie Chapter, where hee chargeth

[d] Pag. 32.

[e] 2. Cor. 11. verse 30.

[f] Iacob. 1. ver. 2.

[g] 2. Cor. 11.

[h] Luke. 10.

[i] 1. Cor. 2.

the false Apostles with vrging Circumcision, because they
x Gala.6.ve.12 would auoid persecution for the crosse of Christ: x They constraine you (saith hee) to be circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the Crosse of Christ; protesting the contrarie for himselfe in these wordes, but God forbid that I should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ, VVHEREBY THE VVORLD IS CRVCIFIED TO ME, AND I TO THE VVORLD: Meaning he doth not onely refuse the fauours, but despise the terrors of the worlde for the crosse of Christ. In the first part of this comparison betwixt himselfe and those that flattered the Iewes with teaching circumcision for feare of affliction, put your interpretation to ỹ wordes of the Apostle, and see how absurdly it matcheth with them. They constraine you to bee circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the crosse of Christ, that is as you expound it, because they would not *suffer persecution for the afflictions of the godlie.* Hath this exposition either sense or reason in it? Or else is it euident that the Apostle here meaneth by the crosse of Christ, the slander & shame of Christs suffering on the Crosse, which the Iewes so abhorred, that they pursued all that preached or beleeued it? Then consequently Paules reioycing in nothing but in the crosse of Christ contraris to their course must needs import, that he reioiced in nothing so much as in that shamefull death which the Sauiour of the worlde endured on the crosse; and to that end he saieth in the former Chapter, where hee more largelie handleth
y Gal.5.ver.11. this matter; y If I yet preach circumcision, why doe I yet suffer persecution? Then is the slaunder of the crosse aboliished; meaning there was none other cause why the Iewes hated and persecuted him, but for preaching Christ crucified, to bee the true and onlie meane of our saluation, without circumcision or whatsoeuer ceremonies of the law.

As the text is cleere with the sense which I followed, so the
z Tract.in Ioan.45. fathers concurre with the same. Christ (saieth Austen) z chose that kind of death to hang on the crosse, that a Christian might say,

saie, far be it from me to reioice but in the crosse of Christ. Chrysostome vpon this place, [a] what is the reason (saith hee) that *Paul* so reioyceth in Christes crosse? becausse Christ for my sake tooke the shape of a seruant, and for my sake endured that hee suffered. Adding farther. [a] *Annon est gloriandum, quum ille dominus, qui verus est deus, non erubescit pro nobis crucem subire?* Haue we not good cause to reioice when that Lord, which is true God, was not ashamed to endure the crosse for vs? *Paul* doth [b] not reioice (saith Ierom) in his owne righteousnesse or knowledge, but in the faith of the crosse, by which all my sinnes are pardoned me. *Christ* [c] bearing his crosse on his shoulders, (saith Bede) commendeth it, that *Paul* might saie, be it far from me to reioice but in the crosse of Christ. He was despised in the eyes of the wicked for that, wherein the heartes of the Saintes should reioice. I staie somewhat longer (gentle Reader) on this point; for that, as it had bin a childish ouersight in me at the verie first entrance to mistake the meaning of my text; so it is more then a malepart tricke in him vniustlie to challenge me for it; but I maie the better content my selfe with it, since this Refuter sticketh not to vse all the Fathers with like disdaine, whereof I will giue thee an example or two, that thou maiest see the headinesse of this hastie writer.

[a] Chrysost. in Galat. 6

[b] Ierom. in Galat. 6

[c] Beda. in Galat. 6

In the contents of Christs crosse, I obserued out of [d] Augustine, [d] Ierom, and [d] Bernard that no violence of death wrested Christes soule from him, as it doth ours; but when he sawe his time, hee euen at an instant laide it downe of himselfe, no paines hastening his death. [e] *This is a paradoxe in Nature* (saieth this Controller) *and contrary to scripture which saith, he was like vs in all things sinne only excepted.* „ „ You might giue the learned and auncient Fathers better wordes Sir trifler, what soeuer you do me; your wits are too weake to refute their resolution. For where like a Punie, you prate you know not what, they ground themselues on the plaine and expresse wordes of the scriptures. [f] No man (saith our Sauiour) taketh (my soule) from mee, but I laie it

[d] Vide pag. 7

[e] Page. 53

[f] Iohn. 10

downe of my selfe: I haue power to laie it downe, and haue power to take it againe. Howe thinke you Sir; coulde anie violence or paines of death take Christes soule from him; or had hee power to laie it downe when and as he woulde, which no man else euer had or shall haue? you replie, *he was "like vs in all things, sinne only excepted.* Such prowes became well your person. Was he like vs in his birth? can we lie in the graue without corruption, as he laie? or raise our selues from death as he did? Reade more for shame and write lesse, till you bee better aduised, or better instructed. Upon these words of Christ, I haue power to laie down my soule, and haue power to take it againe, Chrysostom writeth thus; [g] *vtrumq; nouum fuit & praeter communem consuetudinem. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam: hoc est, ego solus potestatem habeo, quæ vobis non est.* Both these (powers) were strange and aboue the common course of men. I haue power to laie down my soule, that is, I ALONE haue this power, which you haue not. If you denie this that Chrysostom saith, remember what God himselfe saith: [h] ô foole this night shal they fetch away thy soule frō thee, which Christ saith none could do from him, because he had power by his fathers appointment to laie it down of himselfe.

[g] Homili. 69 In Iohannem.

[h] Luke. 12

In like sort, when I shewed not mine own opinion, but the iudgments of the ancient fathers as well for the causes that might be of Christes [i] agonie in the garden, as for the meaning of his [k] complaint on the crosse, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me; obserue (gentle Reader) I praie thee, how absurdly he roleth from the one to the other, & how insolentlie he reiecteth al the fathers, for that they vphold not his humour of hell paines to be the ground of both. I alleaged Ierom and Chrysostom, that Christ on the crosse cited the beginning of the 22. Psalme, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, that the Iewes might knowe they had fulfilled the words of the prophet Dauid in that psalme foreshewing the passiō of Christ. His answere is, [l] *this sence is most absurd.* To Athanasius, Augustine, and Leo, that Christ spake those words

[i] Vide pag. 19
[k] Vide pag. 34
[l] Pag. 66

words in the person of his church, which then suffered in him and with him, he saith, [m] *This is no lesse absurd then the former, there is no reason or likelihood for it.* When I brought Ierom, Ambrose, Austen, and Bede, that in the garden Christ might sorrow for the reiection of the Iewes, who would put the vengeance of God on their owne heads, to the vtter destruction of their whole nation by putting him to death, this Confuter foolishly and forgetfully maketh this an interpretation of Christes complaint on the crosse, and addeth; [n] *This is more fond and absurd then the other.* So when among other causes of Christs agony in the garden that might be, (for I take vpon me to determine none) being fiue in number, I brought this for one out of Ambrose, that Christ sorrowed for vs, was SAD for vs, and GRIEVED for vs, he LAMENTED OVR VVOVNDES, not his, OVR VVEAKENES, not his owne death, [o] *This in effect* (saith hee) *is nothing but what wee affirme, howbeit this ought not to haue anie place heere;* [p] *how could these words hang together, when hee meaneth to tell his father howe zealous hee is for his glorie, to saie; My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? There is no fashion in them thus signifying.* What you speake boldlie but errone-ouslie of the sonne of God; [q] *It cannot bee strange if often times Christ fell amazed, confounded and forgetfull of himselfe for feare and griefe,* I maie trulie and iustlie say of you; it is not strange to see you amazed, confounded and forgetfull in your writing. What I spake of Christes agonie in the garden, you applie to his complaint on the crosse, and saie, *the words will not hang together.* God Sir awake out of your sleepe, and learne at least to vnderstand before you answere.

[m] Pag. 67

[n] Pag. 68.

[o] Pag. 68.

[p] Pag. 69.

[q] Pag. 55.

As this presumer euerie where with disdaine casteth away the iudgements of the fathers which I produce, & preferreth his owne peeuish conceite before them all: so when he reporteth my reasons, he either ignorantlie mistaketh them, or purposelie peruerteth them, y they may the lesse encumber him.

In

Vide page. 58 In the effectes of Christes crosse I noted out of the Apostle to the Hebrues three properties of the true propitiatorie sacrifice which take awaie the sinne of the world; It was a bodilie, a bloudie, and a deadlie sacrifice; and amongst manie reasons to confirme the same, I brought these two, which the confuter after his forgetfull maner roueth at. The first in effect was this. The true sacrifice for sinne, which the Redeemer should offer, was shadowed and foreshewed by the sacrifices which God commanded and accepted in the old testament: but the sacrifices of the Patriarches and of the faithfull appointed by Moses foreshewed and figured a bodilie, bloudie, and deadlie sacrifice, and no paines of hell; therfore the true sacrifice for sinne was made by the bodie, bloud and death of the Redeemer, and not by the paines of hell suffered in his soule. The second this; As the sacrifices of the law prefigured what the Sauiour of the world should do for the abolishing of sinne; so the sacraments of the newe testament confirme and seale that performed in the person of Christ Iesus, which was the true propitiation for our sinnes, and price of our redemption: but the sacraments of the new testament, and spectallie the Lordes supper, declare and confirme vnto vs the bodie of Christ giuen for vs vnto death, and his bloud shed for the remission of our sinnes; therefore this was the true propitiation for our sinnes, and price of our redemption, and not the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ, as some imagine. To the first the Confuter answereth; [r] *The proposition is false taking it generally. The carnall sacrifices of the Iewes signified that which they were apt to signifie, but not anie further. The sacrifices of beastes coulde not prefigure the personall vnion of God and man, nor the reasonable and immortall soule of Christ, nor his resurrection, all which were necessarie pointes in the meritorious sacrifice.* Secondlie he denieth the assumption. [f] *For certaine of the Iewes sacrifices set foorth the sufferinges of the soule of Christ also.* As the scape Gote in the 16. of Leuiticus, which was a sin offe-

[r] Page. 11.

[f] Page. 12.

ring

ring, though it were sent awaie free and vntouched. To the reason drawne from the Sacraments, hee saieth, [r] *Wee are to answere as we did before. These are bodilie and earthlie Elements, and therefore fitte to set foorth bodilie and apparant effects in Christ; they can not set out the spirituall and inuisible effects in him. And yet the ceremonie of breaking the bread which is to shewe that Christes bodie was broken for vs, can not belong properlie to the bodie, but to the soule.* These I trust are your words; now heare my replie. I had no such proposition as you frame to your selfe, that either the sacrifices of the lawe, or Sacraments of the Gospel, were figures of our whole and absolute redemption, which is (as you expound it) of all the fruits and causes of our redemption. This is your cauillation, not my proposition; I tolde you that as God had promised, so the faithfull beléeued, that his owne sonne should be the Seede of the woman, and by his death and bloud should purge their sinnes. To continue this promise and confirme the faith of all before and vnder the lawe, God appointed bloudie sacrifices, as continuall remembrances and figures, not of the person, nor of the function of Christ; but of the Sacrifice, by which hee should abolish sinne; to witte, by his bodie slaine, and his bloud shedde, which the carnall sacrifices were fittest to resemble, since God would not haue the bloud of anie man, but of his owne sonne shedde for remission of sinnes. My proposition then speaketh of the true sacrifice for sinne, and auoucheth that to bee the true sacrifice for sinne, which was shadowed and figured by the death and bloud of those beasts, that God commaunded to bee offered vnto him. This proposition you doe not denie, for you graunt, [r] *The Iewes sacrifices signified what they were apt to teach, and signifie:* but they were apt and ordained of GOD to teach the Iewes, that, by the death and bloud of the Messias, they should bee redeemed and saued from their sinnes; ergo they were apt and ordained of God to figure and shadowe

[r] Pag. 14.

[r] Pag 11.

the true propitiatorie sacrifice. And so the patriarkes and Prophetes beléeued and expected, whose faith and hope could neither be vaine nor frustrate, since they were thereto directed by Gods owne appointment.

This proposition, be you Christian or Iewe, you may not denie; and therefore you doe well to denie the assumption, and to affirme that certaine sacrifices of the Iewes, as namelie the scape Goate in the 16. of Leuiticus did signi- [f Pag. 12:] fie the immortall soule of Christ, which was f *a sacrifice for sinne, and did properlie beare our sinnes, and suffer for our sinnes.* But Sir, if a man aske you howe you proue that the scape Goate signified the soule of Christ, what haue you to saie? *Because both Goates* (saie you) *are a sacrifice for sinne, as the Text speaketh.* You abuse the Text, and deceiue your selfe. The woordes are . Aaron [g Leuit. 16 vers. 5.] shall take of the assemblie of the children of Israel two hee Goates for a sinne offering, that is to make a sinne offering of one of them, on which the Lordes lotte shall fall; So followe the woordes in the 8. verse of that chapter. Aaron shall cast lottes ouer the two hee Goates, one lotte for the Lorde, and another lotte for the scape Goate. And Aaron shall offer the Goate on which the Lords lot shall fall, and MAKE HIM A SINNE OFFERING. The taking of the Goates from the people doth not make them sacrifices for sinne, but the offering them vnto the Lord by the Priest: so that though two were taken, yet lots were cast which of them should bee the sinne offering, and which of them the scape Goat, which consequentlie was no sinne offering, because that was made a sinne offering, on which the Lords lot fell. And so if the scape Goate did signifie the soule of Christ, as you affirme more boldlie then wiselie, then was not the soule of Christ a sinne offering, neither did it suffer for sinne, if your owne example maie bee trusted. Howbeit what the scape Goate signified, I am not so forwarde to pronounce as you bee, though I haue better warrant so to doe then you haue.

For

For Cyrill, or as some thinke, Origen writing vpon that place of Leuiticus saieth; [h] If all the people of God were holie, there shoulde not bee two lottes cast vpon the Goates, one to bee offered to the Lorde, the other to bee sent to the desart; but there should bee one lotte, and one offering to the Lord alone. But nowe where in the number of them that come to the Lord, some belong to the Lord, some deserue to bee cast awaie, and seuered from the Lordes offering; therefore part of the sacrifice which the people bring, to wit one of the Goates, is offered to the Lorde, the other is cast off, and sent into the Desart. Ambrose in the like sense. [i] As of two founde in the fielde one is taken, the other forsaken; so are there two Goates, one fitte for sacrifice, the other to bee sent awaie into the Desart. Hee serued for no vse, neither might hee bee eaten or tasted of by the children of the Priestes. Beda ioyneth with them. [k] If all the people were holie, there shoulde not bee two lottes vpon the Goates, but one lotte, and one offering; nowe when manie are called and fewe chosen, part of the people sacrifice is offered to the Lord, the other parte is cast awaie. Or else this maie bee vnderstoode of Iesus and *Barrabas*, that one of them, which was the Lordes lotte, euen Iesus was slaine; the other accursed caitife was sent into the Iewes Desart, bearing the sinnes of the people that cried, Crucifie him. So that the scape Goate by the iudgement of these fathers signified the reprobate among the people; and not the soule of Christ; as you boldlie auouch. But did it signifie the soule of Christ; what gaine you by that? The scape Goate was neither done to death, nor made anie sinne offering, as you falslie suppose, but was separated from the Lords offering, and let go free and vntouched. Then by your owne similitude the soule of Christ neither died anie death, as you after falselie and absurdlie conclude, that the soule of Christ died, and was crucified; neither was it anie part of the offering for sinne to GOD, which you so much endeuour to proue. Such is

[h] In Leuit. lib. 9

[i] Lib. 1. epist. 4.

[k] In Leuit. ca. 16

your vnderstanding, that by your owne examples, you ouerthrow your owne positions, whiles you labour to establish them with faint conceits of your owne deuising.

[But in the burnt offering or holocaust prescribed, Leui. 6 you find more helpe then in the scape Goate, to proue that Christ soule suffered for our sins as wel as his body.] If you meane that Christs soule suffered the paines of hel, I would faine see how you proue that out of the holocaust or burnt offering. If you thinke the name of fire doth somewhat relieue you, remember, Sir, besides the sundrie references that fire hath in the scripture, the [1] holocaust was first slaine, and after burnt; and therefore vnlesse you will fasten the fire of affliction as you call it, to Christs body or soule after his death, the burning of the dead sacrifice by fire will little further your purpose. Again, in one and the same fire was the holocaust consumed. If this therefore touch the death and passion of Christ, his bodie and soule must iointly suffer one and the same kind of affliction; which is the thing you so much impugne. And since by your owne position the bodies of beasts [m] *could not prefigure the immortall and reasonable soule of Christ*, how commeth it now to passe that ỹ body of the holocaust after death shall signifie as well the soule as the bodie of Christ? Can you thus plant and plucke vp with a touch? It is no waie denied or doubted by mee, that the soule of Christ was afflicted and tormented with sorrow and paine all the time of his passion; which this Trifler so much laboureth to proue; and therefore if the holocaust did signifie the whole manhood of Christ suffering for our sinnes, it could not preiudice anie thing, that I did or doe teach, as anon thou shalt (gentle Reader) more plainlie perceiue; but yet while the burning of the holocaust should signifie Christes affliction on the Crosse, either in bodie or soule, I see no proofe made by this Confuter; and why it should not resemble Christes afflictions before death, these two reasons moue me. First it was burnt after it was dead; next it was wholie consumed by

[1] Leuit. 7. ver. 2

[m] pag. 11

by fire; neither of which can accord with Christes sufferings or the crosse: but by the burning of that sacrifice, I take rather the acceptation of Christs death, or his incorruption after death to be signified. For that part of each sacrifice which God reserued for himselfe, and reclaimed to himselfe, was alwayes burnt with fyre; and the Hebrue word, HOLAH, which the Scripture vseth for the holocaust, signifieth [n] that which ascendeth vp to God (by fire;) whence God is often saide in the scriptures, when hee accepteth an holocaust, to smel a sweete sauour. Which words saint *Paul* applieth to the death of Christ in saying, Christ gaue himselfe for vs to be a sacrifice vnto God of a sweet smelling sauour, that is well pleasing and acceptable vnto God. So likewise because the fire consumed in the holocaust all that was subiect to corruption, the holocaust may signifie Christs incorruption after death. This sense S. Austen approueth, when he saith. [o] *Sic leuetur holocaustum vt absorbeatur mors in victoriam*; Let the holocaust so ascend that death bee swallowed vp in victorie. And againe, [p] *Quando totum consumitur igne diuino, holocaustum dicitur. Totum meum consumat ignis tuus, nihil inde remaneat mihi, totum sit tibi. Hoc erit in resurrectione mortuorum, quando mortale hoc induerit immortalitem. Cum absorbet ignis diuinus mortem nostram, holocaustum est.* When the whole sacrifice is consumed with heauenlie fire, it is called an holocaust. Let thy fire (ô Lord) consume me wholie, let nothing therof remaine mine, let the whole be thine: this shall bee in the resurrection of the dead, when this mortalitie putteth on immortalitie. When Gods fire consumeth our Death, then is it an holocaust. An other kinde of holocaust is mentioned by Saint Austen, which I mislike not. [q] *Holocaustum est totum igne consumptum. Est quidam ignis flagrantissimæ charitatis; totus exardescat igne diuini amoris, qui vult offerre Deo holocaustum.* An holocaust is when the whole is consumed with fire. There is a fire of most feruent charitie, hee must wholie burne with the fire of the loue of God, which will offer to God an holocaust.

[n] Gen. 8. Exod. 29. Leuit.

[o] August. in psal. 50.

[p] August. psal. 65.

[q] Idem in psal. 49.

No man euer burned with this fire comparable to Christ Iesus; whose loue to wardes God and man flamed, as vnto death, so after death, most feruentlie. So that touching the holocaust the Confuter presumeth but proueth nothing; and yet if his supposall were granted, it weakeneth not the force of my reason, since by the bodily and bloudie sacrifice shadowed in the law, I do not exclude the torments on the crosse imparted to the soule, or rather wholy discerned by the soule of Christ, but onelie the paines of hell which were neuer figured by anie sacrifice, nor sealed by anie Sacrament of the old or new testament, though now they bee made the principall part of our redemption, which indeede was purchased by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus.

In auoiding the reason which I drewe from the Sacraments of the new testament, and namelie from the Lordes Supper, in the length of six lines (Sir refuter) you contradict the definition and institution of that Sacrament, as also the plaine resolution of S. Paul, and the principles of naturall reason. The Sacraments (you saie) *are earthlie elements, they cannot set out spirituall and inuisible effects in Christ*. I had thought Sacraments by their nature had bene visible signes of inuisible graces, which definition is so common in the schooles, that no smatterer in diuinitie besides you is ignorant of it. [q] *Si tu incorporeus esses, nudè dona ipsa incorporea tibi tradidisset, quoniam verò corpori coniuncta est anima, in sensibilibus intelligibilia tibi traduntur.* If thou hadst been without a bodie, God would haue giuen thee his spirituall gifts vncouered; but because thy soule is ioined with thy bodie, in sensible thinges are deliuered thee spirituall (or inuisible) graces. [r] Where all the Sacraments were common, (saith Augustine) Grace which is the vertue of the Sacraments, was not common to all. [r] In the Lords Supper, that there should be no horror of bloud, & yet the grace of Redemption might remaine, for a resemblance thou receiuest the Sacrament, but thou obtainest the grace & vertue of (Christs) true nature. So that if those earthly elements of water, bread and

[q] chrysost. in Ioh. homil. 83.

[r] Psal. 77.

[r] Ambros. de sacramentis. lib. 6. cap. 1.

and wine, did not set out and exhibite the spirituall and inuisible effects in Christ, they were no Sacraments. [But the *Ceremonie of breaking bread* (say you) *cannot properly belong to the body, but to the soule.*] In the first institution of his Supper did not Christ breake the bread, and deliuer it saying, Take eate, this is my bodie? If breaking belong to the bread, then breaking belongeth properlie to the body of Christ; for the bread was ordained to shew forth the body of Christ, & that S. Paul noteth in expresse words. [t] The bread which we breake, is it not the Cómunion of the body of Christ? But Christs body (you say) was not properly broken; because ỹ scripture saith [u] not a bone of him shalbe broken. A speculation fit for such a diuine as you are; had Christs body nothing in it but bones? Had he not as well flesh as bones? [x] A spirit, saith our sauiour, hath not flesh & bones, as you see me haue. Then if Christs flesh were rent & torne with whips, with nailes, with a speare, as it certainly was, though his bones were whole, his body was properly & truly broken. For the cutting or tearing of the flesh, is the breaking of the flesh, and from a part the whole maie and doth properly take his denomination. And therfore Paul spake truly and properlie when he thus expresseth the words of Christs institution, [y] This is my body, which is broke for you. Neither doth he in that word varie from Christs institution, but he rather teacheth vs, that as the bread is broken, and the wine powred out in the Lords supper; so was the flesh of the Lords body giuen to be broken & torne on the crosse for vs, & his bloud likewise shed for the remission of our sinnes. [z] *The nailes & spear, (you grant) did pearce him, but in no sort can that be called breaking or bruising in peeces, as the worde in* Esay *doth plainlie signifie. Wherefore the meaning is the torments of his soule did bruize and breake him in peeces.* Your Hebrue, your Greeke, & your Philosophie, came all out of one forge, they are so like. You can not finde that Christes flesh was broken and bruised on the Crosse by grieuous stripes and wounds, but you haue spied, that his soule was broken in

[t] *Pag.* 14. 1. Cor. 10. [u] Iohn. 19. [x] Luke. 24. [y] 1. Cor. 11. [z] *Pag.* 10.

peeces.

peeces and that properlie. If one of the Prentices before whome you were wont to talke, should aske you into howe manie peeces it was broken, your heade would ake to shape him a wise answere. [But the word DACHA which Esay vseth doth plainly (you say) signifie to breake in peeces.] Doth it alwaies and euer signifie properlie to breake into peeces? How can it then be applied to the soule, but improperlie and by a figuratiue kinde of speech? A Mole hill with you is a Mountaine. The worde doth signifie to treade vnder foote, to bruise, to oppresse, to humble. When Dauid saith the enemie [a] hath cast my life downe to the ground; Will you saie he hath broken my life in peeces? When Iob saith, [b] How long will yee vexe my soule, and afflict mee with your wordes, will you adde, and breake mee in peeces with your wordes? When Ieremie saith of the men of Iudah. [c] They are not humbled vnto this day; Will you phrase it, and say, They are not broken in peeces to this day?

[a] Psa.143.ve.3
[b] Iob.19.ver.2
[c] Ier.44.ver.10

In the power of Christs death to proue the bloud of our saviour to be the true price of our redemption, and that as wel of our soules as of our bodies; I alledged the words of Peter [d] You were redeemed with the precious bloud of Christ; and of the souls in heauen saying vnto Christ, [e] Thou wast killed, & hast redeemed vs to God by thy bloud; when their bodies were rotten in ȳ earth. Hence I reasoned, if our soules be not redeemed frō death by the blood of christ, our bodies haue in this life no benefite of redemption, I meane from death; for wee die as doe infidels, and our bodies rot in the graue as theirs doe till the daie of resurrection. But S. Peter saieth, wee are redeemed, not we shall bee; and the saints say to Christ when their bodies lie in the dust, Thou hast redeemed vs by thy bloud; ergo that redemption which we haue in this life, must be referred to our soules; and our bodies must expect the generall daie of redemption in the ende of the world. To this our Confuter replieth, [f] *What a paradox, yea what impietie is this? Haue our bodies no good at all by Christes death,*

[d] 1.Pet.1.
[e] Reuel.5.
[f] Pag.23.

no

no more then the bodyes of infidels, becauſe wee die ſtil as wel as they? God Sir remember, Redemption from death is the point which I vrged; ẏ our bodies in this life haue not, no more then the bodies of Infidels haue, but muſt expect it. And therefore if our Soules be not redeemed by the blood of Chriſt from Sinne & death, we haue preſentlie no redemption by the bloud of Chriſt, but muſt ſtaie for the time of our reſurrection before we ſhall haue it. Which is contrarie to the words both of Peter and of the Soules in heauen, that ſaie to Chriſt when their bodies bee rotten in earth, Thou haſt redeemed vs by thy blood. Here ẏ tell vs of the iuſtification, mortification, and ſanctification of our bodies, as alſo of the expectation of glorie, which our bodies ſhall haue, and thinke to make a great conqueſt of the words, NO GOOD AT ALL; but pull in your hornes. Beſides that my meaning is verie plaine, whatſoeuer the wordes were, which I might vſe, which I do not acknowledge to be theſe that you bring, but that our bodies haue no benefitte of Redemption from death; marke well the condition annexed to the propoſition, If our ſoules bee not redeemed by the death and bloud of Chriſt; and then all theſe abſurdities which you thought to faſten on mee, fall full on your owne head. For if our ſoules be not redeemed by the bloud of Chriſt, our bodies haue vtterlie no good, euen no good at all by the death of Chriſt. [They haue you ſaie *Iuſtification, mortification, ſanctification, & hope of reſurrection*, beſides the *lawfull poſſeſſion* of earthly things.] Haue our bodies theſe things of themſelues, or from our ſoules firſt iuſtified, mortified, ſanctified and aſſured of life? I truſt you dare not ſaie that our bodies haue anie of theſe, but for and from the Soule. Then if the ſoule be not redeemed by the death of Chriſt, the bodie can haue none of theſe, and conſequentlie my words are ſound and good; & yours, if you ſtand to them againſt the condition annexed to mine, are prophane and falſe. [But I alter my words, you will ſaie, to my beſt aduantage, when I ſée your obiections to preuent that danger.] It had bene fitteſt for

you to haue staied the printing of mine owne wordes, and then you might haue charged me with them, and not bee repelled as a forgetter or misconstruer of them, or to haue gotten you a copie of that which I deliuered out that verie summer to men of great honour and learning, a yeere and more before I euer heard or thought of your pamphlet, because I founde so manie humorous heades misconceauing and misreporting my wordes. But your haste was such, you coulde not; or your skill, you woulde not staie the sight of mine owne wordes, least they shoulde trouble you more then you were ware: and therefore out of your owne ill conceaued, and worse digested Rapsodies, you frame obiections as pleaseth your selfe, which either were not mine, or not so proposed by me. And that maketh me pursue no more of your aunsweres, by reason I spende more time in recalling you to the trueth of my wordes, then in refelling your exceptions, which haue neither waight nor witnesse, more then the buzzing of your owne braine. Let vs therefore viewe howe well you behaue your selfe in your owne proofes, which you cannot forget or mistake.

In proposing the question, and pursuing the proofes, there is some hope (christian Reader) the holines of the confuters cause will lead him to go plainly & soundlie to worke. Thus therefore he beginneth. *The whole controuersy hath in it two points.*

[8 Page 1.] *1. That Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God.*

2. That after his death on the crosse, he went not into hel in his soule.

Now then for the former, thus we saie and constantly auow: Christ Iesus did suffer in his whole manhoode for the redemption and satisfaction of our sinnes: yea he suffered properly and immediatelie in his soule and not in his flesh only. Therefore he suffered for vs the wrath of God. This consequent is manifest and cannot be denied. The antecedent or first part of the former generall reason is denied and confidentlie reiected, yet how falselie by Gods helpe shal easily

easily appeare. Touching the first part of this controuersie; were you awaked or a sleepe (Sir refuter) when I preached of these thinges, that you so constantlie auowe this was the question, whether Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God or no? if you were present and not a sleepe, it is too much boldnes to outface the world in print, that this was the position which I impugned. There were too manie witnesses there, for mee to denie, or you to belie the question; you knowe it well enough, but you cannot tell how to proue that which I then reproued, and therefore you shrink from that, and dallie with generall and doubtfull termes, which according as they are expounded, may either make with you, or against you. The question proposed by me, was, whether it could be proued by the scriptures, or by necessary consequent from them, that Christ in his soule suffered the true paines of hell such as the damned doe suffer, and wee shoulde haue suffered, had we not beene redeemed by him? I added, if we tooke the paines of hell metaphorically for great and extreame sorrowes and paines, as Dauid and Ionas did, the speach might be tolerated; but if wee tooke them properlie for the verie same which the damned doe and shall suffer in hell, as there is no proofe in it, for there is no truth in it. To this you saie nothing, and so to all wise men make a confession that you cannot iustifie that, which I then disallowed. Ye bee come since to tell vs that certainelie Christ suffered the wrath of God for vs; which if it be granted you, I doe not see what it canne helpe your cause, or hurt mine. For the wrath of God extendeth to all paines and punishmentes as well corporall as spirituall, in this life and the next, be they temporall or eternall. So that no paine or punishment small or great coulde befall the bodie or soule of Christ, but it must nedes proceed from the wrath of God. Wherefore your idle discourse of 32. leaues, in which you labor to proue that Christ suffered the wrath of God for sinne, might wel haue bin spared. Three lines directlie to the purpose had bin more worth

then so many leaues thus wastfullie spent. But in the ende you conclude like a Clark, Christ suffered the wrath of God,

h Pag. 33. "h *which we affirme is equall to hell it selfe, and all the tormentes "thereof.* What you affirme I little regarde; what you can proue is that I intend. And out of this proposition Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God for sinne, you shall neuer conclude; Ergo hee suffered the true paines of hel. Were your proposition generall that Christ suffered all the wrath of God for sinne, that is the whole wrath of God and euery part thereof due to sinne, you might well conclude; Ergo he suffered the true paines of hell; for hell indeede as it is the last, so is it the greatest effect of Gods wrath against sin; but from an indefinite proposition as yours is, which maie signifie the VVHOLE OR SOME PART of GODS VVRATH due to sinne, you shall neuer inferre what part you list, as here you doe.

Will you, to make your consequent good, amend your antecedent and make it generall; that Christ suffered the whole wrath of God, & euery part thereof due to sinne: Then heare good Sir, mine answere. That proposition, besides that it no waie followeth vpon your first antecedēt; Christ suffered properlie and immediatlie in his soule, therefore he suffered the whole wrath of God and euery part thereof due to sinne: besides I saie that there is no coherence, no consequence betwixt these two propositions; the later of them, that Christ suffered the whole wrath of God due to sinne, and euery part thereof, is most impious and blasphemous. For so neither vtter desperation, nor finall reiection, nor eternal damnation are excepted, but Christ did and must suffer them all; since they are partes, yea the chiefest partes and effectes of Gods wrath against sinne. This is far from your meaning, as you often protest. Truelie I beleeue it; charitie leades me to thinke, though you be somewhat foolish in this cause, that yet you are not so diuelish as to fasten these things on the sonne of God. But you must also be so wise as to see, that if your antecedent

be

be general, these will follow, whether you mean them or no: if your antecedent be not general, but indefinite, as, Christ suffered the wrath of God due to sinne, that is some partes and effectes of Gods wrath due to sinne, you shall neuer make choise in your conclusion which parts he suffered, as namelie the true paines of hel & of the damned. Now chose which you will, either the inualiditie of your argument, or the impietie of your antecedent; the one will proue you to lack learning, that you see not the difference; the other that you want christianity, if you should not with mouth disclaim, and with hart detest that horrible blasphemie.

You will pretend I know, your conclusion is not general: no more indeed is it; your words are, *therfore Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God*; but this conclusion being indefinite, and verie doubtfull, will do you no good in the fortifieng of your cause. For Christ may suffer the wrath of God in his bodie, yea in his soule hee maie suffer it, and yet not the paines of the damned, or of hell: but because you make this the maine foundation of your whole matter, let vs looke somewhat better into it. You labour to proue by a long processe that Christ suffered the wrath of God for sinne. First then what meane you by the wrath of God? I hope you doe not meane anie inwarde affection or perturbation in God, but as you expounde your selfe [i] *the verie effectes of his iust wrath*; you shoulde saie, of his iustice and power punishing sinne. And this warning (gentle Reader) if thou bee simple I must giue thee, (for the learned knowe it of themselues,) that when thou readest in the scriptures, or hearest me reason of the wrath of God, thou doe not imagine that God is mooued with anie inwarde mutation, but the punishment ordained for sinne by the iustice of God, or inflicted on vs when we haue sinned by the hand of God, (what soeuer mean it please him to vse) is called the wrath God. Ambrose saieth well; [k] *Ira est non ei qui iudicat, sed illi qui iudicatur*; It is no wrath to God that iudgeth, but to him that is

[i] Pag 33.

[k] In cap. 2. ad Rom.

[1] Greg. moral. lib. 20. cap. 14
[m] August. de ciuitate dei. lib 15. cap. 25
[n] August. in Psal. 7.

is iudged. [1] *Quia culpas percutit irasci dicitur*, saieth Gregorie; God is saide to be angrie, because he punisheth our sinnes. And so Austen. [m] *Ira dei non perturbatio animi eius est, sed iudicium quo irrogatur pœna peccato.* The wrath of God is no affection of mind in him, but his iudgment whereby punishment is inflicted for sinne. The conclusion is; [n] *nomine iræ intelligitur vindicta iniquitatis*, by the name of (Gods) wrath is vnderstoode the punishment of iniquitie. It is then euident that by the name of (Gods) wrath, throughout the scriptures, is vnderstoode the vengeance or punishment prepared or inflicted for the sinnes of men. Nowe what particular punishmentes God hath prouided for sinne as well in this life, as the nexte, to chastise and reuenge both the bodies and soules of sinners, woulde aske long time to rehearse. The greatest and soarest are these iudgementes, which are executed on the wicked, in the worlde to come; to witte, reiection from the kingdome of God, and condemnation to hell fire, where not onelie darkenesse amazeth the eies, and remembrance of sinne committed afflicteth the conscience, but an intolerable flame of fire tormenteth both soule and bodie for euer. These terrible iudgementes of GOD against sinne the Scriptures publish and denounce to men in this life, that if the loue of heauen doe not winne them to obedience, the feare of hell shoulde hold them from resisting and contemning God. The greatest torment that in this life canne befall a sinner is desperation; when the soule of man, conuinced in her selfe by the number of her hainous offences, loseth all hope of life to come, and casteth her eies wholie on the fearefull tormentes of hell prepared for her; the continuall thought and fright whereof doe so amaze and afflict the comfortlesse soule, that thee sinking vnder the burden feeleth in her selfe the horrour of hell before thee come to it. So that the losse of heauen, and feare of hell maie torment wicked and desperate persons in this life; but the execution thereof, after

after this life, shall brede an other manner of astonishment and torment, then they cannot yet conceaue. If the thought of these iudgementes and punishmentes, ordayned by Gods power and iustice for sinners, so afflict men, what shall the sight doe? if the feare of hell bee so intolerable, what shall the flame bee? when therefore you saie (Sir Refuter) Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God; wee must not content our selues with that generall worde, you must tell vs in particular what partes and effectes of GODS wrath Christ endured, before you canne auouch that which hee suffered, to bee equall to hell and all the tormentes thereof. Did hee suffer hell fire either in soule, or in bodie? the damned shall suffer it in both. Did hee finde or feare himselfe to be excluded from the kingdome of God? the damned doe see themselues shut out for euer. If hee neither felt nor feared the MYST, the VVORME, the FIRE of hell, nor so much as DOVBTED the LOSSE of Gods kingdome, what tormentes equall to hell canne you name vs? [The wrath of God you will saie, is equall to hell and all the torments thereof]. The wrath of God is hell, and so are all the tormentes of hell; yea they are the sharpest effectes of Gods wrath against sinne. And therefore neuer plaie with generalities and ambiguities, but expresse plainly what other effectes of Gods wrath you meane. For since the losse of heauen, the darkenesse, worme, and fire of hell, and the feare of both bee the greatest and sorest iudgementes of God against sinne, that are decreed by his iustice, reuealed by his word, and executed by his power, in this life or the nexte: wee plainelie and truelie saie you can name vs none other effectes of Gods wrath equall to these. If then it be hayenous impietie to saie, Christ suffered these, and none other are equall to these, take backe your lauishing vntruth, that Christ suffered the effects of Gods wrath, *equal to hel and all the tormentes thereof*; for my part I see neither sense nor reason in it.

But

" [*But it shalbe soundlie and euidently prooued.*] Will you *prooue* you know not what? Tell first what effects of gods wrath you meane, and then on with your prowes. Your meaning may be such as you shall neuer prowe. It may be such as we will easely graunt. For touching your woords which you take for the cattel of your cause, *Christ suffered for vs the wrath*
" *of God*; know you good Syr, Christ suffered nothing at his Passion either in bodie or soule, were it little or great, but it was an effect of Gods wrath punishing Sinne, or as you delighte to speake, it was the wrath of God. Well, if you bee so loath to erpresse your mind, for feare you bewraie your
" cause, let vs heare your prowes; [a] *Thus wee saie and constantlie*
[a] Pag. 4 " *auow: Christ Iesus did suffer in his whole manhood for the Re-*
" *demption and satisfaction of our Sinnes; yea he suffered properlie*
" *and immediatlie in his soule and not in his flesh onlie:* As you haue begonne so you will goe on; talking is your profession, you did your selfe wrong when you came to writing. This Antecedent as you biter it, (your meaning is secret to your selfe) doth neither good nor hurt to the Question. That christ suffered in his whole manhood for the Redemption of our Sinnes is a thing by mee neuer doubted, nor denied; the doubt is, what he suffered in his whole manhood; and what in ech part of his manhood; for that he suffered all that he suffered in his whole manhood your selfe doe disclaime in the nert page, when you saie, [b] *This greeuous Passion was in his soule*
[b] Pag. 5. " *properlie and immediatlie, seeing then his bodie was not touched*
" *with anie smart.* And when I gaue sire causes that might bee of Christs agonie in ỳ garden, did I so much as pretend that anie of them then touched his bodie, when he was affected with this passion of mind: And except this be your meaning, that Christ suffered some things for our Redemption in his whole manhood, and some things properlie and immediatlie in his Soule, your Antecedent hath a flatte contradiction in it selfe. For if he suffered all, that he suffered, in his whole manhood, how could hee suffer anie thing properlie and immediatlie

immediatelie in his soule? which is the second part of your owne Antecedent. And if that bee the drift of your generall reason, about which you spende 32. leaues, you maie sit downe and begin againe a newe pamphlet, that shall haue some more certaintie then this hath. For heere you roue, neither expressing, nor indeede knowing what you woulde haue; onlie you hide your selfe in this generall phrase, that Christ *suffered the wrath of God for sinne*; but vnlesse you specifie what he suffered, I do not meane to brabble with you, or with anie other, about generall and vncertaine speaches. What hee suffered more then the scriptures expresse, (for I faithfullie beleeue all that is there written) I doe not easilie admit you, or anie other such presumer, to deliuer vpon your credits; when you declare what you meane, and prooue that you saie, you shall soone haue an answere.

[*Christ* (you saie) [1] *assumed not our nature, nor any part of it,* [1 Pag. 17.] *but* ONLY *to suffer in it properly and immediately, euen for the very purchasing of our redemption thereby. Otherwise he had no neede to assume both, but either the one part or the other.*] See what it is (good Reader) for a man to loose himselfe in the wildernesse of his owne wit. To prooue that Christ suffered both in bodie and soule, which is a thing by no man denied (for the question is, what he suffered, and not whether soule and bodie were ioined in Christes sufferings?) this Refuter leapeth ouer head and eares into absurdities, not onely against diuinitie, but euen against nature, and the verie law of our first creation. That the sonne of God had no END nor PVRPOSE in taking our nature vnto his in the vnitie of person, [Pag. 16.] but ONLY to suffer for our sinnes, is a bolde and lewd ouersight [Pag. 17.]; his ende and purpose in taking our nature was not onlie to suffer for vs, but to doe all that for vs, which in his life time, and after his death, by his resurrection, ascension, and mediation he did, doth, and will do for vs. By his owne mouth he reuealed to vs his fathers will from heauen; by his example of life he taught vs all perfection of holinesse;

by his rising he swallowed vp our death; by his intercession wee receaue all the giftes and graces of God, which wee haue or shall haue; by his sitting in heauen with our flesh, he giueth vs assurance that our mortall bodies shall bee changed, like to his glorious bodie; yea the verie vnion of our nature to his is an effectuall meane to make vs one with him, as he is one with God. Had Christ not beene man, we could haue had no interest in the fulnes of his obedience, in the riches of his graces, in the Communion of his spirit, in the fellowship of his glorie, which are the helpes, supportes, and meanes of our saluation, as well as his suffering for vs: and man hee coulde not bee without a soule and a bodie; neither part ioyned with his diuine nature was sufficient to make him a man. By the lawe of our first creation we are men consisting of bodies and soules; and therefore Christ as our heade must haue both, NOT ONELIE TO SVFFER FOR SINNE, but also to quicken, sanctifie, and glorifie both our soules and bodyes that hee may perfite our saluation, and bring vs to GOD, without reiecting or excluding either parte of our nature. Yea so aduised you are, Sir Refuter, in your reasons, that by your owne assertion you conclude Christes flesh to bee needelesse for our Redemption: for thus you saie;

[1] Pag. 18. «¶ *This suffering* (of the soule by her bodie which is *na-*
«*turall* and *by sympathie onelie*) PROPERLIE DID NOT
«MAKE TO OVR REDEMPTION. What is suffering, good Sir, in your learning? The receauing of the blowes, or the feeling of the paine? If you beate or cut a deade carkas, that hath neither life nor sense, will you saie it suffereth? I thinke not. There must then bee life and sense in the bodie, before it canne suffer or feele anie paine. Nowe, life and sense, pertaine they to the bodie or else to the soule? If you knewe not before, as by the vnlearned discourse it seemeth you did not, Saint Austen shall teach you; except you will shorne him in this

paint,

point, as you do in others. [r] *Si diligentius consideremus, dolor, qui dicitur corporis, magis ad animã pertinet. Animæ enim est dolère, non corporis, etiam quando ei dolendi causa exiſtit a corpore, cum in eo loco dolet, vbi læditur corpus. Sicut ergo dicimus corpora sentientia & corpora viuentia cum ab anima ſit corporis ſenſus & vita; ita et corpora dicimus dolentia, cum dolor corporis niſi ab anima eſſe non poſſit.* If wee well consider, the paine which is called bodilie paine, belongeth rather to the soule. The soule feeleth the paine, not the bodie euen when the cause of paine commeth from the bodie, and the soule greeueth in the place where the bodie is hurte; As then wee saie bodies are liuing and feeling, when the life and sense of the bodie is by the soule; so saie wee bodies full of paine, when the paine of the bodie cannot bee felte but by the soule. And so againe; [r] *Dolores qui dicuntur carnis animæ ſunt in carne & ex carne; dolor carnis tantummodo offenſio eſt animæ ex carne.* The paines which are called bodilie paines, are the paines of the soule in the bodie and by the bodie. For bodilie paine is nothing else but the griefe of the soule by the bodie. Whereof Diuines mate not doubte, since naturall reason and experience teacheth, that as the soule seeth by the eies, and heareth by the eares of the bodie; so the soule feeleth paine and offence by euerie part of the bodie, when it is wounded or wronged. If this suffering of Christes soule, by communion with his bodie, *did not properlie make to our Redemption*, which are your own words; then neither the stripes, woundes, nor death of Christ did any way make to our redemption; since of all these violences offered to Christes bodie, the flesh it selfe had not the feeling but onlie the soule of Christ by communion with her bodie, or as you terme it, by *Sympathie*. Yea farther, by your owne rule, the flesh of Christ was needeleſſe in the worke of our Redemption, for so much as his flesh could not properly and immediatlie feele any paine; but of force

[r] Augusſt. de ciuitate dei. lib. 21. cap. 3

[r] Idem de ciuitate dei. lib. 14. cap. 15

must leaue the feeling of all that was suffered to the soule; and so whiles you talke so much of the proper and immediate suffering of Christes soule, you haue cleane excluded all the sufferings of Christ, which the scripture expresseth, as not making proper lie to our redemption.

[Pag.19. [*But t insteede of a false argument of mine, you will returne a reason better grounded, and of certaine truth*; which is this; *Whereby Adam first, and we euer since doe most properlie commit sinne, by the same hath Christ our second Adam made satisfaction for our sinne. But Adam first, and we euer since most properlie commit sinne in our soules, our bodies beeing but the instruments of our soules, and following the soules direction and will. Therefore Christ in his soule chieflie and most properly made satisfaction for vs.*] Thou shalt perceiue (christian reader) by the answere to this argument, howe ill I spend the time in pursuing this Trifler, which neither can tel what he would haue, nor what he should proue, nor whether his own reasons make with him or against him. I made no such argument as here he pretendeth; the effect of my reason was this. The flesh of Christ must be as able to redeeme vs as Adams was to condemne vs: but we inherit pollution and condemnation from Adams flesh; wherefore the flesh of Christ must both quicken and cleanse vs. The Maior is euident, vnlesse we make the diuell more able to destroie vs by an other, then God is able to saue vs by himselfe. The Minor is cleere, without intermedling with the question, whence soules be deriued. I vtterlie refused to ground anie reason vpon that difficultie; I vsed Dauids words, in sinne my mother conceiued me, and as Ambrose saith, u *prius incipit in homine macula quam vita*; pollution (which is originall) beginneth in man before hee hath life. Now the soule is the life of the bodie. Then if pollution cleaue to the flesh before life come, and consequentlie before the soule come, whence soeuer it commeth; it is euident that Adams flesh defileth and so condemneth vs. As for my conclusion that Christes flesh must quicken and cleanse vs, if the

Vide pag. 104

u In Apologia Dauid. ca. 11.

premisses

premisses would not support it, which they fully doe; the Scriptures will maintaine it. [x] He that eateth my flesh (saith our Saviour) and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp at the last daie. I am that bread of life. If anie man eate of this bread, he shall liue for euer, and the bread that I will giue, is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world. My reason standing good, Sir Refuter, let vs take a little to yours, that you saie is so well grounded, and of certaine truth. How proue you your first proposition, *In which part* " Adam *did first Sinne, by that part Christ must satisfy for sinne?* " Satisfaction for Sinne the Scripture acknowledgeth none but by death; because ỹ Iudge in prohibiting Adam to transgresse threatned death: [y] In the day that thou eatest therof thou shalt die the death: and the Apostle saith plainlie; [z] Christ is the mediator of the new testament, that THROVGH DEATH, which was for the REDEMPTION of the transgressions in the former Testament, they which were called might receiue the promise of eternall inheritance. If nothing might satisfie for sinne but death; then consequently the Soule of Christ which could not die, could not paie the satisfaction for our Sinnes, howsoeuer Adam did, and we still doe sinne, most properlie with our Soules. This is but a straw in your waie; for you trifle, but absurdly, if not impiously defend, that Christ died the death of the Soule; yet because the Scriptures and Fathers with one consent auouch the contrarie, yea S. Austen is so peremptorie therein that he asketh, QVIS AVDEAT DICERE, VVHO DARE AFFIRME IT? you shall giue mee leaue to tell you that the Apostle denieth your Maior, till you can make it good, not by your own vnlearned frensie, but by good testimonie of Scripture, that Christ did die the death of the Soule. Now by your assumption, that Adam *most properlie committed sinne in his soule*; If you mean that Adams soule " was the agent, his body the Instrument which the soule vsed as in all sins, so in this; that indeed is most true, but directly repugnant to your conclusion. But that for your Minor, that

[x] Iohn 6.

[y] Gene. 2.

[z] Hebrues 9.

Vide pag 79.

Adams soule transgressed the commaundement with hir bodie and by hir bodie; the conclusion then followeth in spite of your hart; ergo in satisfying for sinne the Soule of Christ must be punished with hir bodie & by hir bodie; which is the thing you labour to overthrowe with all the wits you haue. Speane you otherwise that Adam brake the Commaundement of God, not by his bodie properlie, but by his soule? Then is your assumption a manifest contradiction to the fact of Adam. For with his eares he heard the perswasion of the woman, with his eies he liked the forbidden fruit, with his hand he toke it, with his mouth he did eat it, which was the fact that God precislie did prohibit. God did not saie to Adam thou shalt not like it, or desire it, which the soule of Adam did, but THOV SHALT NOT EATE THEREOF, which could not bee performed but by the hand and mouth of Adam: and therefore Adam transgressed the commandement not by his soule, but by his bodie, euen as in murder, theft, & adulterie, these facts men commit by their bodies and not by their soules.

[But in that and all other sinnes brought to effect, the soule, you will saie, is the principall agent, the bodie is but the Instrument.] I grant it willinglie; and thence I conclude, ergo in the satisfaction for sinne, the soule must be the principall patient and dolent, and the bodie by Gods iustice must be the instrument of her paine. And here marke I praie thee (Christian Reader) whether this one argument doe not vtterlie overthrow all that this idle discourser hath doone, and would doe in this whole pamphlet. For nothing is more proportionable to Gods iustice, then to ioine them in paine, that were ioyned in sinne; and to retaine the same order in punishing, which they kept in offending. But all prouocations and pleasures of sinnes the soule taketh from her bodie, all acts of sinne she committeth by her bodie: therefore the iustice of God both temporallie and

eternallie

eternallie punisheth the soule by the bodie; that as it hath beene the Instrument of her pleasure, so it shall bee of her paine. And if GOD obserue this course as well in his temporall as eternall vengeance on the sinnes of men, while then shoulde not the sufferinges of Christes soule by his bodie bee truelie and properlie a satisfaction for sinne, which this great Doctor a little before said, *made not properlie to our Redemption?* Pag. 178.

For thy better instruction, gentle Reader, and my discharge, that the soule taketh her occasions to sinne, vseth her delightes in sinne, and perfourmeth her attemptes of sinne, with and by the bodie, giue mee leaue in this point to bee somewhat the longer. [z] *Caro est officina spiritus, qui in ea et per eam, quæcunque affectauerit, peragit & consummat.* The flesh (saith Cyprian) is the forge of the soule, which in that and by that acteth and performeth, whatsoeuer it affecteth. [a] *Per quinque sensus, quasi per quasdam feneſtras vitiorum ad animam est introitus.* By the fiue senses of the bodie (saieth Ierome) as it were by certaine windowes, vices (or sinnes) haue their entrance into the soule. [b] *Nusquam anima sine carne est quamdiu est in carne;* NIHIL NON CVM ILLA AGIT, *sine qua non est; siquidem* in carne, *& cum* carne, *& per* carnem agitur ab anima, *quod* agitur in corde. The soule (saieth Tertullian) is no where without the flesh, as long as it is in the flesh. SHEE DOTH NOTHING VVITHOVT THAT, without which shee is not. Euen that which is done in the heart, the soule doth in her flesh, with her flesh, and by her flesh: Yea shee practiseth it farther and saieth; [c] *A deo non sola anima transigit vitam, vt nec cogitatus licet solos, licet non ad effectum per carnem deductos, auferamus a collegio carnis. Et sine opere et sine effectu cogitatus, carnis est actus. Negent factorum societatem, cui negare non possunt cogitatorum. Et si anima est, quæ agit & impellit in omnia, carnis obsequium est.* So farre it is that the

[z] Cyprian in prolog de natiuitate Christi

[a] Hier. contra Iouin. lib. 2

[b] Tertullian. de resurrect. carnis.

[c] Ibidem.

the soule alone doth perfourme this life, that the VERYE THOVGHTS IN THEM SELVES, neuer brought to effect, we take not ſtō the fellowſhip of the fleſh. Yea the very thought VVITHOVT ACT, VVITHOVT EFFECT, IS A DEEDE of the fleſh. Let them now denie that to be the ſoules companion in works, which they cannot denie to bee her companion in thoughts. For though it be the ſoule, that mooueth and leadeth to all things, yet the fleſh addeth her ſeruice. And leaſt it ſhould ſeeme ſtrange that he affirmeth, he pointeth to the woꝛds of our Sauiour, [d] out of the hart come. euill thoughts. How trew this is that Tertullian here boucheth thou ſhalt ſone perceiue (gentle Reader) if thou beholde men in SLEEPE, in FRENSIES, in LETHARGIES, in APOPLEXIES; where the ſubſtance of the ſoule is no waie touched oꝛ decaied; but onelie the Inſtruments of her bodie, which ſhe vſeth in perceiuing, remembꝛing, vnderſtanding anie thing, are diſtempered, oꝛ obſtructed. The experience hereof, is ſo caſie and euident euen to the ſimpleſt among men, that I ſhall nēde to ſpend no moꝛe woꝛds to the learned. Tertullians concluſion is this. [c] *deum non licet aut iniuſtum iudicē credi, aut inertem; iniuſtū, ſi ſociam bonorum operum a præmiis arceat; inertem, ſi ſociā malorū a ſuppliciis ſecernat. Non ſit particeps in ſententia caro. ſi non fuerit & in cauſa. Non poſſunt ergo ſeparari in mercede, quas opera coniungit.* We maie not thinke God to bee an iniurious, oꝛ a negligent Iudge: iniurious, if he exclude the (ſoules) companion in good works from (the ſoules) reward; negligent, if he excuſe the (ſoules) partner in euill, from the (ſoules) puniſhments. Let the fleſh haue no part in the ſentence, if it had no part in the cauſe. They cannot be ſeuered in wages, that were ioyned in worke. If Tertullians aſſumption be true, that in this life the ſoule can neither work, ſpeake, perceiue, deſire, nor think good oꝛ euill without the Inſtruments of her bodie; (excepting alwaies Gods power to inſpire what pleaſeth him; foꝛ hee that framed the ſoule can alter and chaunge it at his liking, by the immediate woꝛking of his ſpirit;) if Tertullians con-

[d] Matth. 15.

Ibidem de reſurrect. carnis,

cluſion

clusion be true, that God the righteous iudge of the world in his euerlasting reward of obedience, & likewise in his eternall vengeance for sinne will ioine and couple both bodie and soule together; then apparentlie NO SVFFERINGS ARE SO FIT IN THE PERSON OF THE REDEEMER FOR THE SATISFACTION of sinne, as those VVHICH ARE COMMON TO BOTH PARTS OF MAN, & namely which the soule suffereth from her bodie & by her bodie; which ouerthroweth all the Confuters vnsalted and vnsettled discourse of the soules proper and immediate suffering in the person of Christ Iesus.

Doe I then denie that the soule hath anie sufferings in this life and the next, which come not by the bodie? By no meanes. For though those conioined sufferings be most answerable to sinnes committed; yet the soule hath some proper punishments in this life, as sorrow and feare, when the bodie hath no hurt, from which Christ was not free as appeereth by his Agonie: and so in the next the soules of the wicked haue griefe and remorse besides the paine of fier. The remembrance of sinne shall not a little torment the wicked, but perpetuallie afflict and gnaw their consciences as a worme that neuer dieth. The losse of Gods fauour and kingdome shall not a little greeue them, when they see others receiued into that eternall ioye and blisse, and themselues excluded. [f] *Gehenna grauius est a dei beneuolentia excidere*; to fall from Gods fauour (saith Chrysostome) is more grieuous then hell it selfe; and againe, [g] *Ego illius gloriæ amissionem multo amarius quam ipsius gehennæ supplicium esse dico. Intolerabilis quidem res est gehenna: quis nesciat & supplicium illud horribile? tamen si mille quis ponat gehennas, nihil tale dicturus est quale est a beatæ illius gloriæ honore repelli.* The losse of that (euerlasting) glorie I saie is farre bitterer then the torments of hell it selfe. Hell is an intolerable thing, and an horrible punishment: who knoweth it not? Yet if a man

[f] Chrysost. in Genes. homil. 33.

[g] Chrysost. in Mat. homil. 24.

an Reader) how scornfully this Confuter reiecteth the iudgments of the auncient fathers by mee alleaged touching the causes of Christs agonie in the garden, and his complaunte on the Crosse; as likewise how forgetfullie hee changeth, or purposelie maimeth my reasons, that hee maie the better anoyde them: and thirdlie how vncertayne his propositions, and how lame his conclusions are, that hee maketh for his owne side, yea often such as ouerthrowe his owne assertion; Thou shalt heare now some of his speciall reasons, as hee calleth them; but as the trueth is, some of his speciall absurdities, and impieties: wherein I will be no longer then of force I must bee; I take little pleasure in raking such an vncleane sinke.

[k] Pag. 34. "The first is: [k] *Christ suffered the paines and sorrowes for* "*sinne which we should*. This proposition (Sir confuter) if you take it indefinitlie as it lieth; prooueth nothing for you: you maie do well to goe to the Vniuersitie againe, whence you came afore you were wise, and there learne to put quantitie to your propositions, that wee maie know when you speake of any thing, whether you meane ALL or SOME: for if you meane here, that Christ suffered ALL that wee should, this proposition is an horrible blasphemie: then Christ suffered the LOSSE of Gods GRACE, SPIRITE, FAVOVR, LIFE, and KINGDOME, for so should wee; then hee was plunged into finall desperation, irreuocable malediction, and eternall condemnation; for so should wee. [You are farre from that frensie, you will saie.] I hope so too; neither doe I charge you with it; but if your proposition bee generall you cannot auoide it; and therefore, after your lose and trifling manner, you sette downe a doubtfull assertion, that maie serue for all, or for part of ỹ which wee should haue suffered. If you meane but part, then your proposition prooueth no such thing, as you intend. For you would faine from hence inferre, that Christ suffered the paines of hell, which were due to vs; & if hee suffered but

part

part of that which wee should, a wise Christian will suppose anie part, rather then the paines of hell; howbeit the Apostle teacheth mee to saie that [l] Christ died for our Sinnes according to the Scriptures, and that death was the death of the Crosse, [m] He humbled himself & became obedient vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse. [That is no sufficiēt answere, you wil saie; because on the Crosse [n] He sustained our sorrowes, as Esaie said he should.] The wordes of Esaie are not, as you would faine haue them, he bare ALL our sorrowes, for then he must haue sorrowed for the losse of gods grace, fauour & kingdome, as I said before; but the prophet saith, he bare our sorrowes, which maie receiue a double construction, and either of them verie religious and christian. The first, what soeuer hee felt or suffered it was ours, not his owne, that is for our sakes, and for our Sinnes. This the Prophet in the wordes following confirmeth, He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruized for our iniquities. The next is, he sustained our sorrowes that is such weaknes, faintnes, & wearines, as are incident to our nature; and that the Prophet confesseth in the wordes before, He is a man full of sorrowes, and hath experience of infirmities, euen of such as naturallie offend & afflict vs. But when the scripture faileth you, you flie to similitudes of your owne making, and where Paule saith, [o] Christ gaue himselfe a ransome for all; you saie, [p] *the Scripture speaking heere after the common vse, and custome of redeeming captiues taken in warre, doth meane that Christ paid for vs* THE SAME PRICE *which else wee should haue paid.* First whoe told you that the Scripture speaketh here after the common vse of Enimies, since in our Saluation the sonne of God interposed himselfe as a mediator with his father, to answere what the iustice of God would require at the hands of his sonne, for the pardoning of a seruant, that had offended? You and your friends cannot abide to heare, that the enimie who had vs in captiuitie should haue any price for our deliuerance; you condemne that as a Manichelsme;

[l] 1 Cor. 15.
[m] Phil. 2.
[n] Esai. 53
[o] 1 Timot. 2.
[p] Pag. 34

and

and doe you nowe for an aduantage vrge that the enemie must haue a price for his captiue? Secondlie the price that wee shoulde haue paide was eternall condemnation of bodie and soule into hell fire. If Christ paide the same, loke wel least with seeking helpe from an enemie, you light not on open blasphemie. Lastlie to ioyne with you in your owne similitude, is it not the common vse in warres to redeeme captiuitie with monie? The Captiue himselfe is tyed to perpetuall imprisonment or seruitude; hee that will ransome a prisoner is not bounde to bee a Prisoner himselfe, but to yelde such recompence in money or otherwise, as the conqueror shall demaunde. So that euen by your owne comparison, it is euident, the sonne of GOD in redeeming vs was not tied to our captiuitie, but might yeelde his Father a greater recompence for our absolution, then our condemnation woulde haue amounted vnto.

Your seconde spectall follie (Sir Confuter) is groun-
Page.35. "ded vpon the wordes of Saint Paule. *Christ redeemed vs from*
"*the curse of the Lawe beeing made a curse for vs.* Whence
"you reason; *It is vaine and senseleſſe to thinke that the A-*
"*postle speaketh here of two seuerall kindes of curses.* And *if Christ*
"*sustained anie curse for vs, what curse could it be? not the curse*
"*of the lawe? or what was it? not the curse of God?* If you alke to learne, you may bee soone taught. If you alke to brag, you maie be soone cooled. The curse of God vpon the sinne of man proceedeth from the wrath of God against the sinne of man; howbeit God curseth not onelie sinners, but other his creatures, with whom he is not angrie, but only because they shoulde not serue the pride and lustes of the wicked. When Adam transgressed, God cursed the earth for his
p Genes.3 sinne in saying, p Cursed is the earth for thy sake, thornes and thistles shall it bring thee. For not onelie the soules and bodies of the wicked are cursed and consumed with plagues resting in them, and on them; but all that they take in hand,

and

and all that belongth to them is accurſed likewiſe. q If thou wilt not (ſaieth Moſes) obey the voice of the Lorde thy God to doe all his commaundementes, then all theſe curſes ſhall come vpon thee and ouertake thee. Curſed ſhall thy basket bee, and thy ſtore. Curſed ſhall bee the fruite of thy bodie, and the fruite of thy lande, the increaſe of thy kine, and the flockes of thy ſheepe. The Lorde will ſende vpon thee curſing in all that which thou ſetteſt thine hande to doe, vntill thou bee deſtroyed and periſh, becauſe of the wickedneſſe of thy workes. The reſt of GODS curſes there numbred vnto the ende of that Chapter, and laide vpon bodie and ſoule, wife and children, goods and landes, life and death of ſuch as tranſgreſſe; peruſe (gentle Reader) at thy leaſure, and thou ſhalt eaſilie ſee, how farre the curſe of GOD in this life purſueth ſinners; beſides the horrible tormentes of the nexte life kept in ſtore for them. So that as I did in the wrath of God, I muſt in the curſe of God aſke you (Sir Confuter) whether you meane that Chriſt ſuffered for vs the whole curſe of the lawe, or parte thereof? if you aunſwere the whole; looke in that place which I now cited, how manie kinds of curſes there be reckned, which neuer touched our Sauiour; beſides the graunde curſe which cloſeth vp all, and continueth for euer; r Depart from me ye CVRSED into euerlaſting fire. If you ſaie a parte; then proue you nothing with your hot and ſharpe ſpurres as you thinke, when you ſaie; *what curſe could it be? not the curſe of the law? or what elſe? not the curſe of God?* Chriſt ſuffered a parte of that curſe, which God by his owne mouth laid on Adam and all his poſteritie for ſinne. s By one man ſinne entred into the worlde (ſaieth Paul) and by ſinne death. hee alſo ſuffered other partes of the curſe, which GOD by his t lawe threatned vnto ſinners, to wit u ſhame and TROVBLE, x VVRONG and VIOLENCE, y CAPTIVITY and MISERY, y THIRST and NAKEDNES, z GRIEFE and PAYNE of bodie and minde. Beſides, the verie kinde of death, to which

q Deutero. 28

r Matth. 25

s Rom. 5.

t Deut. 28
u verſe 20. 37.
x 33.
y 48.
z 65.

which he submitted himselfe was accursed by speciall words
[a]Galat.3 in the law, [a] accursed is euery one that hangeth on the Tree.
Now to verifie the words of S.Paul, that Christ redeemed vs from the curse of the law due to our sinnes, being made a curse for vs; it sufficeth that the sonne of God, being equall with his Father in glorie and maiestie, vouchsafed to undergoe not all the partes of our curse, but some partes thereof. Gods euerlasting curse which is most due to sinne, I hope you will free him from. Gods spirituall curse, by which he depriueth the wicked of his trueth, of his grace and other giftes of his spirite, you must likewise cleare the sonne of GOD from. Hee cannot be subiected to that parte of Gods curse without apparant impietie. Take from him trueth, you make him a lyar; take from him grace you charge him with a reprobate minde; take from him the Spirit of GOD, you giue place to Satan to worke in him as in the children of vnbeliefe. I trust (Sir Refuter) you bee neither so wicked as to thinke, neither so desperate as to defend, that the sonne of God might suffer any of these curses. Then haue you boldelie, but falsely and lewdly con-
[b]Pag.40. "cluded out of S.Paul, that he putteth [b] *a part of the iust curse*
"*of the lawe, thereby meaning the whole.* Are you so well acquainted with Saint Paules minde, that of your owne heade, to vphold your humorous fansie, you will vrge his meaning without his wordes, to support a manifest falsitie? The whole curse of the law containeth infatuation of minde, obduration of heart, desperation, damnation; and what not? did Paul meane, that Christ was made these thinges for vs? or could hee haue redeemed vs, if in these things he had beene poked with vs? But that I thinke (Sir Refuter,) you sinne of ignorance, not meaning to maintaine these blasphemies, and yet including them within the largenesse of your words, through the weaknesse of your wit, I must by the duty which I owe to God, and his truth, haue giuen you other termes, then now I do; but I had rather fatherly warne you to take

heede

hæde of these toies in time, least they bring the whole curse of God vpon your owne soule, which you would so faine fasten on Christs.

Notwithstanding your follie thus to presume without all proofe vpon the Apostles meaning besides his wordes, you haue a good conceit of your self, & like a proper man you say, *I vrge then, let it be noted, Christ is said to be made a curse for vs;* [c] *and before I shewed this curse was Gods curse* And againe. [d] *The Scripture it selfe affirmeth, hee did all that for vs: therefore who dareth denie it? Who either man or Angel shall presume to say nay?* You haue vrged it, I haue noted it, and so haue manie wise and good men more; and will you heare what I conceiue? Trulie this; you haue more nede of Phisicke to cure your braines, then of labour to rebate your arguments. So many, and those *speciall reasons*, so proudlie proposed, so weaklie performed, so falselie concluded, did I neuer reade as long as I haue liued. Thou wilt thinke perchance (christian Reader) I speake this to disgrace the encounterer, and so to preiudice his cause with thee; mine heart God knoweth; but if thou bee not of the same minde with mee before I ende with his *speciall reasons*, as hee calleth them, I much deceiue my selfe; specially if thou thy selfe bee intelligent and indifferent.

[c] Pag. 37.

[d] Pag. 36.

I hope, though I vaunt not, as he doth, there can bee no doubt, but the curse of God for sinne containeth these partes which I propose; to wit, the externall, corporall, spirituall, & eternall plagues and punishments, wherewith God pursueth the wicked that rebell against him. I count it as cleare, that neither the eternall, nor the true spirituall curse of God could take hold on the soule of our Sauiour. For as the greatest blessings that God giueth vs in this life, after he hath by mercie pardoned our sinnes, are the faith of his truth, to direct vs, the strength of his grace, to assist vs, the earnest of his spirite to perswade our hearts of his fatherlie clemencie to vs, and to inflame vs againe with the loue of his name, hope

of his promises, and desire of his kingdome; so the greatest curse for sinne, that in this life male befall men, is to haue his holie spirite taken from them, with all his graces and gifts, that anie waie tende to saluation, and to bee giuen ouer into a reprobate sense, that with blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, they may runne headlong to their owne destruction. With these impieties and blasphemies, I trust no Christian will burthen the soule of our Sauiour; and yet these are the true spirituall curses of God against sinne. If then the soule of Christ were alwayes [c] full of grace and truth, and the abundance of his spirite such, that [c] wee all receiue of his fulnesse; If in the perfection of his holinesse, innocencie and obedience there coulde bee no defect; nor anie feare or doubt in that stedfast assurance of faith, hope and loue, which our Sauiour alwayes retained; howe could hee beeing so fullie and perpetuallie blessed of God, bee also trulie accursed of him? The curse of God is not in wordes, but in deedes. Then euidentlie saint Paules meaning is and must be, that Christ, voluntarilie undertaking some part of the curse due to our sinnes, (for the whole hee could not undertake without reprobation and damnation;) not onlie discharged vs of the whole, but gaue vs the blessing of God promised to Abraham. And to this ende I brought the testimonies of saint Austen, Chrysostome, and others, fullie confirming that I said: to which you replie, as your custome is; [f] *It is vaine and senseleſſe to thinke that the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of two ſeuerall kinds of curſes.* Indeede it is vaine and fruitlesse to reason with him, that preferreth his ignorant imagination, before the iudgements of all the learned, and auncient fathers in Christs church; but Sir, your follies will sticke fast by you, when their expositions shall passe with all wise men for currant and good.

[c] Iohn. 1.

[f] Pag. 35.

You quarrell as your manner is, with those parts of the curse, which I say Christ indured. For where I proposed a SHAMEFVL, VVRONGFVL & PAINFVL death to be that

part

part of the curse, which Christ suffered for vs; you shirre at euerie one of these; And of the first you say: [g] *Will any man of common reason affirme that* (to be openly hanged on a tree) *was all the curse that Christ bore for vs? Nothing but the shame of the world, because it was an ignominious death?* Whether you account saint Austen, and saint Chrysostome, men of common reason I know not; The Church this 1200. yeares hath taken them for reuerend and learned fathers. You adde, *It is more then absurd so to say.* Iudge thou (Christian reader) whether this Prater be well in his wits, that in his frenzie thus reproacheth, not onelie the fathers of Christes church, but euen the Prophets and Apostles themselues, as men more then absurd, and not of common reason. Moses from Gods mouth threatneth such as transgresse the lawe, that God will send them [h] trouble and shame, and will make them a [i] wonder, a prouerbe, and a common talke among all people. Esay foreshewing Christs sufferings, reckoneth this not for one of the least; [k] He was despised, reiected & numbred among sinners; we did iudge him plagued and smitten of God, and turned our faces from him. Dauid in the person of Christ, complaining of the wrongs receiued at the time of his passion; putteth this as the first and the chiefest, [l] I am (as) a worme and not a man; a shame of men, and the contempt of the people. All they that see mee haue mee in derision; they make a mowe, and nod the heade, saying, he trusted in God, let him deliuer him, let him saue him. They gape vpon mee with their mouthes. Saint Paule himselfe vrgeth as much the shame, as the paine of the crosse; [m] Looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of your faith, who for the ioy set before him endured the crosse and despised the SHAME. He endured such contradiction of sinners least you should faint in your mindes. How often doth God threaten shame and confusion of face to those that fall from him? How earnestly doth Dauid euery where pray against it? How truly doth Daniel make this confession to god: [n] O Lord to vs belongeth OPEN SHAME becaus[e]

[g] Pag. 38.
[h] Deut. 28. vers. 20.
[i] & ver. 37.
[k] Esay. 53.
[l] Psal. 22.
[m] Heb. 12.
[n] Daniel. 9.

we haue sinned against thee; the CVRSE is powred vpon vs written in the law of *Moses*; because of our sinnes, Ierusalem and thy people are a REPROCH to all about vs. If the scriptures were not cleare, that shame and reproch is a chiefe part of Gods curse against sinne, howe manie wise men and good men chose death before shame? What generous nature doth not more decline slandering then wounding? In common reason to which you appeale, howe can it bee lesse wrong or griefe, to whippe the soule with reproches, then the bodie with scourges? Mercifull our Saviour who best knoweth the waight of both, giueth like reward to both: ° Blessed are you when men reuile you, and speake all maner of euill against you for my sake, falselie; reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen.

° Matt. 5.

As you shuffle with the shame, which our Saviour suffered on the Crosse, so you doe with his death; affirming that

P Pag. 45. "*Death may* P *in no sort heere be called a curse, because death*
"*to the godlie is no* q *curse properlie, nor punishment of sinne,*
q Pag 44. "*but a benefite and aduantage.* You are too poong a Doctor to controll Saint Austen, whose wordes I haue alledged in the Treatise at large. His resolution is, that when Paule saieth, Christ was made a curse for vs, he meant Christ died for vs. *Idem est mortuus quod maledictus, quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est.* It is all one to saie, Christ died for vs, and hee was accursed for vs; because death came from the curse. This you denie; for that the godlie after death goe to heauen, which is rather a benefite then a curse to them. God Sir, it is no benefite of death it selfe, but Christes blessing after death, that departing this life, wee goe to heauen. Did you incourage men to die, since of force for sinne dwelling in their bodies they must die; it were well said, that death is rest from their labours, and an entrance into blisse, for so Christ hath prouided for his, when they goe hence: but if you will reason what death is in it selfe, you must resolue it to be a part of Gods curse inflicted on

Vide pag. 92.

Adam

Adam for sinne, and from him naturallie derived to all his posterity; from which though our soules be exempted, and our bodies shall be restored, yet it remaineth to this day a part of Adams punishment, which can not bee auoided, though it must not bee feared, because Christ hath ouerthrowne the force and feare therof with his death.[r] By one man (saith Paul meaning Adam) sinne entred into the world, and by sin death. I hope it entered not as a blessing; God doth not vse to blesse sinne: but it entered as a part of the wages of sinne, or curse for sinne, and so it doth and shall continue, to the ende. [s] The last enemie that shall be destroied (saith Paul) is death; when this mortall hath put on immortalitie, then is death swallowed vp in victorie; till then the sting of death is sinne. If the death of the bodie be an enemie and must be destroied by Christs second comming, then is it no blessing; for those shall increase, when hee appeareth in glorie. [t] If Christ be in you (saith Paul) the spirit is life for righteousnes sake, the bodie is deade because of sinne. If sinne bee the cause of death yet seazing on our bodies, it can bee no blessing, that riseth from so badde a cause; neither could the resurrection of our bodies, which Christ hath promised, and we expect at the last day, bee so great a ioy as it is; if the corruption of our bodies in the meane time were a blessing. Gods blessings be not contrarie one to the other. S. Austen learnedlie resolueth this question in this sort. [u] *Boni benè moriuntur, quamuis mors sit malum.* The godlie die well, though death be euill. [x] *Mors hominis ex pœna peccati est, quia ex peccato factum est vt moriatur.* The death of mans body commeth from the punishment of sinne, because sinne brought it to passe, that man dieth. This conclusion in exact wordes Prosper collecteth out of saint Austen. [y] *Mors etiam plorum pœna peccati est.* The corporall death euen of the godlie is the punishment of sinne. This collection to bee true, S. Austen himselfe confirmeth. [z] *Si verò quem mouet, cur velipsam patiantur, si & ipsa pœna peccati est, quorum per gratiam reatus aboletur: tam ista quæstio in alio nostro opere, quod inscripsimus de Bap-*

[r] Rom 5.

[s] 1. Cor. 15.

[t] Rom. 8.

[u] Auguſt. de ciuitate dei. lib. 13. cap. 5. Auguſt. contra Fauſtum. lib. 14. cap. 3.

[x] Auguſt. de ciuitate dei. lib. 13. cap. 5.

[y] Proſper in ſentent. ex Auguſt. 148.

[z] Auguſt. de ciuitate dei lib. 13. cap. 4.

tissimo paruulorum tractata ac soluta est. If it moue any man, why they, whose sinne is abolished by grace, doe yet suffer the death of the bodie, if that death bee a punishment of sinne, that Question I haue handled and resolued in another worke of mine, intituled of the baptisme of infants. The effect of his resolution here is this. *Per ineffabilem dei misericordiam & ipsa pœna vitiorum transit in arma virtutis, & fit meritū iusti, etiam suppliciū peccatoris,* NON QVIA MORS BONVM ALIQVOD FACTA EST, QVAE ANTEA MALVM FVIT, *sed tantam deus fidei præstitit gratiam, vt mors instrumentum fieret, per quod transiretur in vitam.* By the vnspeakeable mercie of God, the verie wages of vice becommeth an instrument of vertue, and the punishment of a sinner is made the merite of the righteous: not that death, VVHICH BEFORE VVAS EVILL, IS NOVV BECOME ANIE GOOD THING, but God hath shewed so great fauour to our faith, that death is the waie or meane by which wee shall passe to life. And so concludeth, that *Pie fideliterque tolerando auget meritum patientiæ, non aufert vocabulum pœnæ;* By enduring (the death of the bodie) religiouslie and faithfullie the merite of patience is increased, but the name of the punishment is not altered. And if death were nowe no part of the punishment of our sinnes, but a gaine to the godlie as you woulde haue it, by what meanes I praie you came it so to bee? Not by the resurrection of Christ conquering death, and changing the nature of it? When till Christ was risen, death was a punishment to the faithfull themselues; and consequentlie when Christ died for our sinnes, hee toke vpon him a part of our curse, which after he turned, as you saie, into a blessing. *Primus parens propter transgressionem mortis pœnam intulit, verum superueniens Christus hæc omnia abstulit. Neque enim mors, vltra mors est, sed nomen tantum habet mortis.* Our first parent by his transgression brought in the punishment of death: But Christ comming after tooke all away. For death is no longer death, but hath onelie the name of death, *Ipsam mortem*

*Ibidem.

Ibidem cap. 5

Chrysost. in gen. Homil. 29.

August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 10. cap. 24.

tem, quamuis esset pœna peccati, pro nobis tamen sine peccato Christus persoluit. Death it selfe, (saieth Austen) though it were the punishment of sinne, yet Christ that was without sinne vndertooke it for our sakes. And so for anie thing you haue yet said, or shall euer be able to say, Saint Austens assertion, which I cited before, standeth good; that because the death of the bodie was a part of the curse inflicted vpon Adams sinne, Christ vndertaking that part of the curse for vs, that is, dying in his bodie, loosed vs from the whole curse of the lawe.

Against Chrysostomes iudgement, that not onelie death, but the very kind of death which Christ died, was accursed by the very words of the lawe, saying, accursed is hee that hangeth on a tree; you replie: [b] *Not euery one that is hanged is cursed: for manie innocents and martyrs are hanged, who are most blessed; but euerie one that is iustlie hanged is accursed, and so, was Christ here* [c] *condemned by the iust sentence of the lawe to paie his debts, for whome hee had willinglie and aduisedlie vndertaken. And so indeede he bare the true curse of the lawe.* Chrysostoms iudgement is as I reported it. [d] *Crux signum erat mortis maledictæ, mortis omnium diffamatissimæ. Hoc enim solũ mortis genus maledictioni erat obnoxium.* The crosse was a signe of a cursed death, of a death most infamous. This onelie kinde of death was subiected to the curse. And againe. [e] *Non quouis mors isti similis est, ista namq; omnium videbatur esse probrosissima, ista plena dedecore, ista maledicta. Propterea Iudæi satagebant cum ista morte interimere, vt si nemo abstineret ab eo quod esset occisus, abstineret tamen vel ideo, quod hoc pacto esset occisus.* Not euerie death was like to this. This seemed most reprochfull, most shamefull and accursed. Therefore the Iewes laboured to put him to this kind of death, that if no man would refuse him because he was killed, at least yet they should forsake him, for that he died this vild kinde of death. The kinde of death which christ submitted himself vnto was a shameful, & a cursed kind of death; as for the cause of christs death, Chrysostom was far from

[b] Pag. 38.

[c] Pag. 39.

[d] Chrysost. in demonstrat. quod Christus sit deus. tom. 5.

[e] Idem in epist. ad philip. ser. 7.

from thinking Christ was iustlie hanged; he saith Christ thus honoured his father, [f] *Non coactus, nec inuitus, sed & hoc ex sua ipsius virtute*; not cõstrained, nor vnwilling, but of his own vertue or humilitie. And the Apostle warranteth Chrysostoms speech, for he saith: [g] Christ humbled himselfe, and was obedient to the death, euen to the death of the crosse. But what warranteth your speech that [h] *Christ was hanged on the tree by the iust sentence of the lawe?* I had thought he had suffered the [i] iust for the vniust; and hauing no sinne had beene willinglie, and by no sentence of the law, hanged on a tree. [k] *Is it wrong* (you alke) *for the law to lay the penaltie on the suretie, when the debtor cannot discharge it?* But *if it be meere and true iustice, and no wrong, then was Christ by the iust sentence of the lawe hanged on the tree, and so he bare indeed the true curse of the law.* [l] *For though God alwayes loued and imbraced Christ in regard of his owne innocent person, yet in another regard of our person, which he iustained, we may say God* HATED *him, God* CVRSED *him.* [m] *Yea he tooke our person on him, and so became by our sins,* SINFVLL, DEFILED, HATEFVL, & ACCVRSED. Is this the holines of your cause you haue in hand, Sir refuter, with a simple similitude against the scriptures, against the faith, against the fathers, against the consciences of gods people, openly to pronounce the eternall and euerlasting sonne of God SINFVL, DEFILED, HATEFVL, & accursed of his father, for that he took vpon him the punishment of our sinnes? Your similitude had need be sound, that shall beare the waight of these woordes; if you faile, can you tell howe deeply you come within the iust sentence of gods law, for opening your irreligious mouth against God, and his sonne? but thereof anon.

In the meane while, because with scorning Chrysostom, you make way to your vnholy conceit, that Christ being truly accursed in soule for the guilt of mans sinne [n] *was iustlie hanged by the sentence of the lawe, and say it is* VAINE *and* SENCELESSE *to thinke the Apostle speaketh there of two kinds of curses* (as Chrysostom affirmeth) *but rather that* [o] *hanging on a tree is*

[f] Ibidem.
[g] Phil. 2.
[h] Pag. 39.
[i] 1. Pet. 3.
[k] Pag. 39
[l] Pag. 42.
[m] Ibidem.
[n] Pag. 35.
[o] Pag. 40.

is set downe as a part for the whole execution of Gods iust curse, „
and argueth the whole to be on Christ, let vs see whether you, „
or Chrysostom, bee deceiued. p As many as are of the workes of Gods lawe, are vnder the curse, (saith Paul;) for it is written, p Galat. 3
Cursed is euery man that continueth not in all things which are written in the booke of the lawe, to do them. We shall agree I hope that this is Gods curse, both temporall and eternall, laid on the bodies and soules of sinners, for transgressing anie part of Gods commandementes, proposed in his lawe; and to this all that haue sinned are subiected, because it is the GENERALL curse, EXECVTED by God himself vpon ALL sinne committed, either in deede, word, or thought. q From this curse (saith Paul) Christ hath redeemed vs, beeing made a q Galat. 3
curse for vs, as it is written, Cursed is euerie one, that hangeth on a tree. If this be all one with the other, then euerie man that transgressed Gods law in thought, word, or deede, was by the sentence of the lawe to bee hanged on a tree. Shewe that sentence in the lawe, and Chrysostom shall yeelde vnto you; if you cānot, then hāging on a tree is no necessarie part of the generall curse of God vpon all sinners, and consequentlie being no part of it, it is not all one with it, neither can it argue the whole to haue been in Christ. [*How standeth* „
the Apostles reason then that Christ was made a curse?] where in „
sinne there are two thinges, the committing of it, and the reuenging of it by God or man in this life or the next; and magistrates had vnder Moses, as they haue vnder Christ, power giuen them from aboue r as Gods ministers to take r Rom. 13.
vengeance (in this life) on him that doth euill; the Apostle knowing that Christ, though he committed no sinne, was yet content to beare the punishment due to sinne in his bodie on the tree; and by his smart to abolish our fault: citeth a place out of Moses, where the Iudiciall and corporall punishment of a man by death is not onelie called a curse, but counted a satisfaction for sinne, which being suffered the law had ended his forme vpon the sufferer. And so concludeth that Christ

receauing a Iudiciall, and corporall punishment of death for our sinne, not onlie therein suffered the curse, but satisfied the force of the law, & by that curse of his suffering redéemed vs from the curse of our transgressing. The place cited out of Moses is this; [f] if a man haue committed an offence worthy of death, and is (by the lawe) to die, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remaine all night on the tree, but thou shalt bury him the same day; for the curse of God is (alreadie laid or executed) on him that is hanged. This most apparantly was a publike punishment executed by the magistrate vpon the body of the offender; and because by his open and shamefull death, which Moses rightlie calleth the curse of God, hee had satisfied the sentence of the Iudiciall lawe, God commandeth no farther reproch to be offered his bodie, in suffering it to hang in all mens eies any longer, but to bee buried the same daie; For that by his death the curse of God ceased. The difference betweene these two curses is soone perceiued. Euerie sinne receaued the first curse, whereof Paul spake before; fewe crimes receaued the iudgement of this seconde kinde of curse which was to bee hanged. The first was inflicted by God himselfe: the second was executed by the magistrate. The first touched bodie and soule, in this life and the next; the second ended with the death of the bodie. The first was committing of sinne, the seconde was suffering for sinne. And therefore Chrysostomes exposition is verie true, when hee saieth; [t] The people were obnoxious to another curse, which was this; Cursed is euerie one, that continueth not in that which is written in the booke of the lawe, for there was not one of them that had fulfilled the whole Lawe; but Christ insteede of that, tooke vpon him another curse, which said, cursed is euery one that hangeth on the tree. He that should take away the first curse, must not bee subiect to the same, but vndertake an other in place thereof, and by that dissolue the first. As if one being adiudged to die (for some crime) an other, no way guilty of the same, but willing to die for him, should deliuer him from the

[f] Deuter. 21

[t] Chrysost. in ca. 3. ad Galat.

punishment

puniſhment: So did Chriſt; not being ſubiect to the curſe of trãſgreſsion, inſteede thereof he tooke an other curſe, and diſſolued the curſe that laie on them.

[Before a man can be accurſed by his death, hee muſt, you ſaie, be iuſtlie hanged; for manie *Innocents and martyrs are hanged who are moſt bleſſed.*] Innocentes and martyrs, bee their ſoules neuer ſo bleſſed, maie beare in their bodies a ſhamefull death, as Chriſt did in his; and that is a kinde of corporall curſe, though by men vniuſtlie inflicted, euen as death in the godlie is a remnant of Gods curſe vpon ſinne, though their ſoules bee bleſſed before and after death. Yea the worde KALAL whence the Hebrewes deriue that which with them ſignifieth a curſe, noteth alſo to make vilde and contemptible, as if ſhame, reproch, and contempt were the greateſt outwarde curſe, that coulde befall anie man in this life. The cauſe why wee ſuffer it, ſhall make it iuſt or vniuſt; but wee muſt call thinges by thoſe names, which GOD firſt allotted them. Nowe death, ſhame, wrong, reproch, and ſuch like, God ordayned at firſt to bee puniſhmentes of ſinne, and ſo partes of the curſe due to ſinne. If wee ſuffer at mens handes for pietie, that which God appointed to be the wages of iniquitie, ſo wee bee patient and willing to abide the triall, which is righteous with God, though iniurious from men, the name is not altered, but the reward increaſed. Yea God it is, that cauſeth iudgement to beginne at his owne houſe oftentimes, by the handes of perſecutors; hee doth vs right, when men doe vs wrong; and dealeth not with vs according to our ſinnes in the greateſt wrongs that can be done vs. Therfore martyrs and innocents may do well to remember, that God hath cauſe enough, though man haue none; and ſo ſubmit themſelues as worthie of worſe from Gods handes. But none of theſe thinges may be ſaide of our Sauiour, who alone among all the children of men wanted ſinne, and ſuffered wrong; and therefore his puniſhments with God were

iust, not by his deseruing, but by his desiring to suffer for man. How then commeth it to passe, that martyrs, which are sinners before God, are vniustlie hanged, because they deserue no such thing at mens handes; and Christ who was most innocent before men, and most righteous before God, you will néeds haue to be iustly hanged?

"[*The suerty (you say) by his suertiship is a debtor to the creditor*
" *and to the law*; and so Christ, though most innocent in himselfe, yet was hee iustlie hanged, as our suretie, by the iust sentence of the law.] You mistake, Sir Confuter, as well the sentence of the lawe, as the suertiship of Christ. For though mans lawe permit, which is the rule of charitie, that men should beare each others burdens, and vndertake one for an other in money matters, and such like things which God leaueth in each mans will and power; yet tell me I praie, what lawe, Gods or mans, permitteth a murderer or like offender to be spared, and an other, that is willing, to bee hanged in his steede? I thinke mans law will allow you no such suertiship, I am sure Gods lawe will not. [u] As I liue, saith the Lord, the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. The wickednes of the wicked shall bee vpon himselfe. Hee shall haue then no suerties to die for him, much lesse shall his suertie be compelled to die by the sentence of the law. Their monie men may giue awaie; but their liues they may not, till God call for them; and if not their liues, much lesse their soules by anie sentence of the law. The sonne of God did not by LAVV, but by LOVE interpose himselfe to beare our sinnes; [x] So God loued the worlde, that hee gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosoeuer beleeueth in him should not perish, but haue euerlasting life. Yea [y] the sonne of God loued vs, and gaue himselfe for vs, not by anie obligation to the lawe, for hee was aboue the lawe, and could not be bound by the lawe; and we were condemned by the sentence of the law, and not put to finde suerties. The eternall wisedome and counsell of God then out of his inestimable loue towardes vs, without the lawe,

[u] Ezech. 18

[x] Iohn 3.

[y] Galat. 2

and

and before the lawe decréd, as to create vs, so to redéme vs, by Christ his sonne. And the sonne not as debtour to anie, nor for anie, but of his good will and fauour toward vs, offered himselfe to suffer for vs what soeuer the iustice of his father would impose. Wherein he became not a Suertie bound to the lawe; but a Mediatour to God, and a Redeemer of man. Suerties that stand bounde and must paie the debt, may not looke to be Mediators; and he that redeemeth a prisoner from the enemie is not bound, but content so to doe. And that the death of Christ should be paide as a debt to the lawe whereto Christ was bounde, is to mee a strange position. I take Christes sufferings all this while for a voluntarie oblation to God, and not for a due obligation to the lawe, and himselfe to be a mediatour, not a debtour; his death I reckned to bee a richer offer, then man coulde owe, and a greater price then the lawe could exact. And therefore the newe testament of mercie, grace, and glorie was made by his bloud, which are other manner of purchases, then the due paiment of mans debt. Howe coulde that bee due vnto the lawe, which ouerthrew the lawe? Sinners, such as we are, were to die by the lawe; but that the sonne of God should die for vs, what lawe did or coulde require that at his handes? you shall doe well therefore to leaue these dangerous discourses, and learne to saie with the scripture and fathers, that loue, not lawe; desire, not debt; mercy, not necessity brought the sonne of God from his throne in heauen, to his crosse on earth.

[Such was the sentence of the lawe, you will saie, that without death he could not redeeme vs.] Saie such was his loue, you should saie, that euen with his death hee would redeeme vs. [z] *Cum posset nobis etiam non moriendo succurrere, subuenire tamen moriendo hominibus voluit: quia nos videlicet minus amasset nisi & vulnera nostra susciperet, nec vim suæ dilectionis nobis ostenderet, nisi hoc quod a nobis tolleret, ad tempus ipse sustineret. Passibiles quippe mortalesque nos reperit, & qui nos existere fecit ex nihilo, reuocare etiam sine sua morte potuit*

[z] Greg. moral. lib. 20. cap. 16.

à passione. Sed vt quanta esset virtus Compassionis ostenderet, fieri pro nobis dignatus est, quod esse nos voluit, vt in semetipso temporaliter mortem susciperet, quam á nobis in perpetuum fugaret. Christ when he might haue succoured vs without dying, woulde rather helpe man by dying (saieth Gregorie:) becausse he had loued vs lesse, if he had not taken to himselfe our woundes, neither had hee shewed vs the strength of his loue, vnlesse hee had for a tyme sustayned that, from which he deliuered vs. Hee founde vs miserable and mortall; yet hee that made vs of nothing might haue recalled vs from our miserie without his owne death. But that hee might declare howe greate the vertue of Compassion is, hee vouchsafed to bee that, which hee appointed vs to bee, that receauing a temporall death in himselfe, hee might chase it from vs for euer. [a] Those (saieth Austen) that aske, did GOD so want meanes to deliuer men from the miserie of this mortalitie, that hee woulde haue his onelie begotten sonne to bee made a mortall man, and to suffer death; It is not enough so to refute that wee shewe this waie to be good and agreeable to the diuine excellencie, whereby God vouchsafed to deliuer vs by the Mediatour of God and man Christ Iesus, *verum etiam vt ostendamus* NON ALIVM MODVM POSSIBILEM DEO DEFVISSE, *cuius potestati cuncta æqualiter subiacent, sed sananda nostræ miseriæ conuenientiorem alium modum non fuisse, nec esse oportuisse*; but also that wee shewe God VVANTED NOT OTHER MEANES, to whose power all thinges are subiect, but that neither there was, nor coulde bee a more conuenient way to heale our misery. For what was so needefull to raise vp our hope, and to free mens mindes from despairing immortalitie, being alreadie deiected by the condition of their mortalitie, as to make euident shewe vnto vs, how much God esteemed vs, and how much hee loued vs? whereof what plainer or perfiter proofe could be made, then that the sonne of God, remaining that he was, would take from vs & for vs that which he was not, and vouchsafe to be amongst

[a] Augustin. de Trinitate lib. 13. cap. 10

vs : and first without anie deserte of his to beare our miseries, and vpon vs, then beleeuing how greatly God loued vs, and hoping where afore wee despaired, to bestowe without all merit of ours, yea when wee deserued euill at his handes, the giftes of his grace, with bounty no way prouoked by vs. And so Ambrose.

[b] By one mans death the world was redeemed. Christ might, if hee woulde, haue refrained from death; but hee neither refused death as vnprofitable, neither could he haue saued vs any better waie then by dying. So that no legall necessitie, much lesse Iudiciall seueritie, brought Christ to his Crosse, but to teach vs obedience to God by his example, to demonstrate his loue to vs by refusing nothing for our sakes, and to declare his owne power, whose weakenesse was stronger then all his and our enemies, and to strengthen our patience, and giue vs comfort in all the troubles of this life, he chose the paynefull and shamefull death of the Crosse, and there shewed so perfitte a patterne of obedience, innocence, patience, that the Angels themselues did admire it.

[b] Ambros. de fide resurrect.

So farre you make Christ suertie for vs that in taking [c] *our person on him, hee became by our sinne sinnefull, defiled, hatefull and accursed.* Similitudes, if you sucke nothing from them but that which is agreeable to ỹ truth, in teaching may be tolerated; in concluding they will halt. That Christ is [d] a suerty, we find it once mentioned in the scriptures; but not to ỹ law to pay our debtes, but [d] of a better testament, euen of the new couenant of grace established in his bloud, whereof he is also the mediator & priest. Now he died for vs, not as a suerty bound to ỹ law, but as a mediator to God for vs, he interposed himself of his own accord, to yeld such recompence vnto his father, as hee should be pleased to accept for vs. If you will needs vse similitudes, vse rather the similitude of a mediator, and Redeemer, which the scriptures often call him, then of a suerty; therby to bind him not onely to suffer the paines of hell in our stede, but also to defile him with our sinnes

[c] Pag. 92

[d] Hebre. 7

and

and make him hatefull to God by our curse. No similitudes "can proue Christ in *taking our person on him to be* SINNE-"FVLL, DEFILED, HATEFVL, *and* ACCVRSED; and therfore your vncleane mouth, and vncleaner heart, that thus speake, and thinke of the sonne of God, are worthier of castigation, then of refutation. I know you will pretend the [e] 2.Cor.5 Apostles wordes, [e] God made him sinne for vs that knewe no sinne; but howsoeuer some late writers turne sinne into sinner, and thence giue cause of these and the like speaches, the church of God from the beginning hath warilie declined such irreuerent wordes, and yet plainelie confesse the truth. That God MADE HIM SINNE, hath two good and approued senses; one that he made him a sacrifice for sinne, and so the clenser of sinne, and no waie defiled by our sinne: the other, that he punished our sinnes in him, and vsed him as hee doth sinners. [f] They that know (saith Austen) the scriptures of the olde testament, acknowledge this that I saie. Not once, but often and verie often it is found; Sacrifices for sinnes, are called sinnes. Then him that knewe no sinne God made sinne for vs, that is a sacrifice for sinne. Christ was made sinne in that he was offered to abolish sinne. And againe, [g] *peccatum vocabatur in lege sacrificium pro peccato, assidue lex hoc commemorat, non semel, non iterum, sed sæpissime. Tale peccatum erat Christus. Peccatum non habebat, & peccatum erat; peccatum erat, quia sacrificium pro peccato.* The sacrifice for sinne is in the law called sinne. The lawe still so vseth the word, not once, nor twice, but verie often. Such a sinne was Christ, he had no sinne, and yet he was sinne. He was sinne, because he was the sacrifice for sinne. So Ambrose. [h] Because Christ was offered for sinne, worthilie is he said to be made sinne, because in the lawe the sacrifice that is offered for sinne is called sinne. This waie if you consider S. Paules wordes, they conclude directlie against your irreligious supposition. For if Christ when hee toke vs into his bodie, did clense our sinnes by the offering of himselfe; hee became not defiled by our sinnes. Hee did not clense vs that

[f] Aug. de verbis do. secund. Iohan. serm. 48

[g] Idem de verbis Apostoli. serm. 7.

[h] Ambros in 2. Corinth. ca. 5

that was defiled by vs. Howsoeuer you take those wordes; [i] Such an high priest it became vs to haue (saieth the Apostle) as was holy, harmlesse, VNDEFILED, SEPARATE from sinners. If the Priest were defiled, the sacrifice could not be accepted. If Christ were separate from sinners, then was hee not polluted by sinners. He toke our sinnes vnto him, not to drawe anie pollution from them, but to make ỹ purgation of them. He that coulde cleanse vs from our sinnes, howe much more coulde hee kepe himselfe from beeing defiled with our sinnes? If we follow the other sense of S. Pauls wordes, that Christ was made sinne for vs, that is the punishment of our sinne, wee must take heede that wee bring him not within the guiltinesse of our sinnes, as we doe within the punishment of our sinnes. [k] *Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum, vt inde solueret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam supplicium nostrum.* Christ vndertooke (saith Austen) our punishment without our guilt, that so hee might remit our guilt, and ende our paine. [l] Christ (saieth Cyprian) endured by *Moses* and his owne Apostle to bee called a curse, and sinne, *pro similitudine pœnæ, non culpæ*, for the likenesse of the paine, not of the fault. [m] *Dilexit* (nos Christus) *dulciter, sapienter, fortiter. Dulce nempe dixerim, quod carnem induit; cautum, quod culpam cauit; forte, quod mortem sustinuit.* Christ (saith Bernard) loued vs sweetelie, wiselie, stronglie. Sweetelie in that he tooke our flesh; wiselie, in that hee shunned our guiltinesse; strong'lie, in that he suffered death for vs. If Christ toke the paine, but not the guilt of our sinnes, howe came hee to bee defiled by our sinnes? It must needes be either in ioining and vniting himselfe vnto vs, or in answering and suffering for vs. Our vnion with Christ doth sanctifie vs, it defileth not him. We are as neere ioyned to Christ nowe raigning in heauen, as wee were to Christ suffering on the Crosse. As wee died with him then in the bodie of his flesh, [n] so wee sitte togither with him in heauenlie thinges. But our vnion and communion nowe, though wee bee sinfull and

[i] Heb. 7.

[k] August. cont. Faustum. lib. 14 cap. 4

[l] Cyprian de passione Christi.

[m] Bernard in cantic. serm. 20

[n] Ephes. 2.

mortall, doth no waie defile him, no more did it them, when hee suffered for vs. If you saie our sinnes were imputed vnto him, when he was crucified for them; that increaseth the perfection of his loue, it argueth not anie pollution of his soule. To die for wicked men, did not touche him with anie taint of our sinnes, but [o] GOD (saieth the Apostle) setteth out his loue towardes vs in this, that whiles wee were yet sinners Christ died for vs. The iust therefore did die for the vniust, and was no partner of our iniustice; hee that saued vs from our sinnes, did not defile himselfe with them. And where all this is grounded vppon a simple similitude, that a suertie by vndertaking for a debtour, maketh the debt his owne, though hee neuer borrowed the money; it is easilie and trulie aunswered, that Christ did not vndertake wee should not sinne, nor that wee should paie the debt which wee did owe; but when wee had sinned, and were able no waie to aunswere the iustice of GOD, but by our euerlasting destruction of bodie and soule; it pleased the sonne of God to interpose himselfe, and no waie bound to vs, nor for vs, to intreate his father [f] that in his owne person hee might make recompence for our sinnes; and so as a Mediatour allowed of God, hee tooke our nature: and freelie, not indebted; willinglie, not constrained; [p] Hee gaue himselfe for vs a sacrifice of a sweete sauour vnto God. As if the whole people of anie lande rebelling against their King, and beeing subdued and readie to be destroied, the Kinges sonne (loath to see his fathers kingdome dispeopled, and so manie wretched men, women, and children put to fire and sworde) should importune his father at his request to bee gratious vnto them, and to laie on him, though hee bee his onelie sonne, what chastisement the father in his wisedome and iustice shall thinke fitte for the repressing of the like outrage hereafter; maie anie of those subiectes without extreame ingra-

[o] Rom. 5.

[p] Ephes. 5.

titude

titude, and intolerable contumelie reproch the Kings sonne, when hee suffereth for their sakes, that hee is guiltie of their treason, and both DEFILED with it, and HATEFVLL for it? I will not applie, because it will presse you too farre; but as mine owne perswasion is, that no such sinfull and hatefull wordes haue, or should be vsed in the Church of God to the dishonour of his sonne: so my counsell to the sober and wise reader, is, to stop his eares, and shut his eies against such defiled and accursed speeches.

You proceede to another proofe, and where the Apostle saith, Christ spoiled Principalities & powers, and made a shew of them openlie, triumphing ouer them; vpon these words you inferre. ¶ *These principalities are the diuels; therefore it is certaine Christ* FELT THEM *to bee the verie instruments that* VVROVGHT THE VERIE EFFECTS *of Gods wrath* VPON HIM. This is the first place where you specifie anie effect of Gods wrath against Christs soule (for you will haue the soule of Christ properlie and immediatelie to suffer the effectes of Gods wrath;) and that you prooue learnedlie and wiselie like your selfe. The diuels haue nothing to do with the soules of men, but either to tempt them to worke in them, or to torment them. To tempt is to trie how fast ẏ saints stand in the feare and loue of God. And for that cause the wisdome of god hath from the beginning suffered all his saints, his owne sonne not excepted to be tempted of Satan. For Christ coulde not be tempted by the corruption of his heart as we are, but by Satans voice, or by Satans members. Of vs Iames saith [r] Euerie man is tempted, when he is entised and drawne away by his owne concupiscence. Concupiscence there was none in Christ. He had no law in his flesh rebelling against the lawe of his minde, as wee haue; It is in vs the rage of originall sinne from which he was free, and therefore he coulde not bee tempted but by the eare, as he was in ẏ desart by Satan himselfe, & by Satans members al the time of his abode on earth. In the harts of men when ẏ diuel preuaileth with temptation

„ ¶ Pag 45.

[r] Iames. 1.

there he worketh, leading such as consent and yeld vnto him into all wickednesse, euen with greedinesse: So [f] he worketh in the children of disobedience, as the Apostle testifieth. This can haue no place in Christ, because [t] he did no sinne, neither was there anie guile found in his mouth. [u] He that committeth sinne (saith saint Iohn) is of the diuel, and for this purpose appeared the sonne of God, that hee might dissolue the workes of the diuell. Then since inward temptation by the hart Christ could haue none, and outward temptation by the mouthes & hands of the wicked is no effect of Gods wrath, but rather a triall of Gods gifts and graces bestowed on vs; It remaineth « that if *Christ felt the diuels as the very instruments that wrought « the verie effects of Gods wrath vpon him*, that is vpon his soule, « (for that part of Christ you say must *properly* and *immediately* « *feele the wrath of God*) it resteth I saie by your owne wordes ỹ Christ FELT the DIVELS TORMENTING HIS SOVLE. And indeede for so much as in executing the true paines of hell, and of the damned, God hath none other instruments but diuels, you cannot defend that Christ suffered the paines of hell, but you must graunt that Christ felt the diuels, as instruments executing those paines on his soule. Nowe the bodie of man they may torment with touching, as they did Iobs; the soule they can not, but by possessing it. For they can not worke but where they are, and therefore they must possesse the soule which they torment. Is not here (Christian Reader) an wholesome clearke, and an holie cause, that concludeth Christes soule was possessed and tormented of diuels on the Crosse? And the proofe is as ridiculous, as the position is impious. Christ [x] spoiled principalities and powers, and openlie triumphed ouer them, ergo (say you) *hee « felt them the instruments of Gods wrath*, by tormenting his soule. If your learning and Logicke serue you so well, you may proceede Doctor in dotage when you will. For my part (christian Reader) I will giue none other answere to these lewd and wicked absurdities, but that which Iacob said to Si-

[f] Ephes. 2.
[t] 1. Pet. 2.
[u] 1. Iohn 3.
[x] Philip. 2.

meon

meon and Leui; [y] Into their secret my soule shall not come. To strengthen thee, thou maiest remember, what Peter saide of Christ. [z] God anointed Iesus of Nazareth with the holy ghost, & with power to heale all that were oppressed of the diuell; for God was with him; or else what Christ said of himselfe, [a] The prince of this world commeth, and hath naught in me; or at least what the diuels themselues said to Christ; [b] Iesus the sonne of God VVHAT HAVE VVE TO DO VVITH THEE? Art thou come to torment vs before the time? And so in the Gospell of saint Luke, the [c] foule spirit when he saw Iesus cried out, what haue I to doe with thee, Iesus the sonne of God most high? I beseech thee torment me not.

[y] Gen. 49.
[z] Acts. 10.
[a] Iohn. 14
[b] Matt. 8.
[c] Luke 8

[But perchance I mistake him.] would God there were so much grace in him, as to reuoke it, or refuse it; I woulde gladlie confesse mine errour in mistaking his wordes: but what if he go on from bad to worse? What if he heapeth vp reasons as he thinketh, but indeede trifles void of sense and reason to confirme the same? [c] *This reason will proue the same* (saith hee) *taken from the lesse to the more.* [d] *Thus do the members of Christ suffer. Therefore of necessitie Christ our head suffered the like. Yea to the* Hebrues *hee sheweth a reason which can neuer be refuted by the witte of man.* [c] *Christ succoured vs not, but wherein hee had experience of our temptations and infirmities: but he succoureth vs euen in these our temptations of feeling the terrours of God and the sorrowes of hell. Therefore hee himselfe had experience of the same.* [f] *Adde hereunto that of all absurdities, this is the greatest, that meere men should suffer more deepely and bitterly then Christ did.* You haue more wordes then witte (Sir Confuter) that propose these childish arguments for inuincible reasons. Your selfe shall see the weakenes of them. [g] *Whatsoeuer the members of Christ,* say you, *did or shall suffer, of necessitie Christ our head suffered the like.* Meane you in bodie? or in soule? or in both? If in bodie, then Christ had his eies put out, for so had Sampson; he was swalowed vp by a whale, for so was Ionas; hee was cast into a burning

[c] Pag. 45
[d] Pag. 46.
[c] Pag. 47
[f] Pa. 48. & 49
[g] Pag. 46.

furnace, for so were Sidrac, Misshac, and Abednego; he was stoned to death, for so were Naboth, Steuen, and others. You meane not in bodie; meane you then in soule? Inwarde assaults of error, lust and sinne Christ neuer had. He was free from all conflicts of heart, that rise in vs from the roote of remorse of sinne; that increase with weakenesse of faith, want of grace, and quenching of Gods spirite. The terrors of minde which wee feele through conscience of our vnworthinesse, ignorance of Gods counsell, and distrust of Gods fauour hee neuer felt: his faith admitted no doubting, his loue excluded all fearing, his hope reiected all despairing. So that howe you shoulde make a falser proposition, and more repugnant to the Apostles wordes which you alledge then this which you haue made, I by no meanes can conceiue. Hee was tempted in all thinges a like except sinne. Then neither the rootes, partes, nor fruites of sinne must bee in him. But the Apostle that excepteth sinne, excepteth all sinnefull adherentes. The punishment of sinne which proceedeth from the iustice of GOD, and is no sinne, that Christ might and did beare; but in no wise those terrours and feares of conscience which proceede from sinne, and augment sinne, as doubting, distrusting, despairing, in which GOD reuengeth sinne with sinne; these muste bee farre from Christ, vnlesse wee will wrappe him within the snares of our sinnes. The feare of Gods Maiestie armed with mightie power to reuenge sinne, is profitable to keepe vs from sinne; therein Christ may communicate with vs, though not to that ende, for he could not sinne; but fearing, doubting, or distrusting that God wil for our manifold sinnes cast vs from his presence, and condemne vs to hell, commeth in vs from the guiltinesse of conscience and weakenesse of faith and hope, which in Christ neither had, nor coulde haue anie place.

[But

[But [i] *the Apostle* (you saie) *sheweth a reason, which can neuer bee refuted by the witte of man. Christ succoured vs not, but wherein he had experience of our temptations.*] Are those woordes in the Apostle? No (you will saie) but collected from the Apostles woordes, where hee saith [k] In that Christ suffered being tempted he can helpe those that are tempted. Hence you conclude vpon your owne warrant, that Christ can succour vs in no temptation but whereof himselfe had first experience; and this you proclaime to be irrefutable. Such lips such lettice; such doctors such diuinitie. Your collection, Sir Refuter, is not onelie farre different from the Apostles woordes, but euidentlie repugnant to the christian faith and truth. The Apostle giueth not here the cause why Christ is able to helpe vs in our miseries and necessities, for he is able in that he is God to do what he will; but hee sheweth that our high Priest is [l] faithfull and mercifull, that is willing and readie to heare vs, and helpe vs in all our afflictions and troubles, for so much as in his owne person hee woulde feele our temptations and infirmities, that he might be the better able to helpe vs in hauing more compassion on vs. And this is that the Apostle saith in the fourth chapter of this Epistle: [m] Wee haue not an high Priest, which can not bee touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things (or throughlie) tempted alike except sinne. So that his sufferinges made him the more mercifull and faithfull; because he knoweth best as well our naturall infirmities, as our manifolde miseries.

[i] Pag. 47.

[k] Heb. 2.

[l] Heb. 2. ver. 17

[m] Heb. 4.

This for the sense of the Apostle, nowe to the truth of your collection. CHRIST SVCCOVRETH VS NOT, *but wherein he hath felt the same.* Meane you Christ is not able or not willing? For you saie, hee succoureth vs not. To saie hee is not able, is blasphemie; because he is God, and God I hope can succour vs in all our miseries, without suffering those things which we doe. To say he will not (though the Apostles woord bee δύναται, hee is able) is as false in

it

it selfe, and as iniurious to Christ. For then Christ will neuer helpe anie man that is sicke, because hee neuer felt anie disease of bodie, nor anie whose bones are broken, because his were whole: nor anie Martyr that burneth in fire, because hee died on the crosse; the blinde, deafe, dumbe, lame, and a thousand such like Christ will neuer heare, nor helpe, because he suffered not the same. [You speake of ghostlie temptations, you will saie, not of bodily afflictions.] Saint Paule speaketh of both, and Christ had experience of both; and therefore if your collection be false and absurde in the one, it will neuer bee sound and assured in the other. But come to your owne pitch. Will Christ deliuer no man from blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, because hee neuer endured either? Will he not aide vs to represse the lusts of our flesh, because he neuer was tempted with them? Will he not helpe our vnbeliefe, because his faith was alwayes strong? Will he not saue anie from desperation, because he neuer despaired? Will hee not cure frenzie, and furie, because hee was neuer out of his wittes? Neither did hee, nor will hee cast out Diuels, because himselfe was not possessed? Is this the reason that cannot bee refuted by mans witte which euerie childe maie presentlie controlle? In deede you speake truer then you are ware of, if your deuise maie bee receiued. For you doe not sticke to defile Christ with our sinnes, to astonish and amaze all the partes and powers of his minde, to torment him with Diuels, and in the ende to adiudge him to the death of the soule, which hath in it blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, infidelitie, and what not? Yea it is with

[a] Pag. 48. you: [b] *of all absurdities the greatest, that meere men, although they bee reprobates, shoulde suffer more deepely then Christ did,*

[c] Pag. 83. [c] *For Gods iustice,* saie you, *shoulde bee as seuere on Christ, as on anie reprobate,* and yet they suffer reprobation, desperation, damnation.

From hence you go to another of your holie mysteries;

and

and as if you had not done the Lord of glorie wrong enough with these irreuerent and irreligious speaches, you take from him in his passion at your pleasure, not only his vertues & graces, but euen his sense, memorie & vnderstanding, & leaue him often times when you list your selues, [r] *amazed, astonished, and forgetfull of himselfe for feare, yea so distempered, disturbed, distracted,* [q] *ouerwhelmed &* ALL CONFOVNDED *in his whole humanity, both in all the powers of his soule and senses of his body, that he knew not what he said or did.* God grant, (Sir Refuter) you be wel in your wits, that depriue the Sauiour of the world when you will, of all sense, memorie, & vnderstanding. [The euangelists, you will say, in expresse words affirme that Christ in the garden was [r] astonished [s] & grieuously perplexed.] Haue you the skill, when the scriptures faile, that Christ beganne to bee astonished and perplexed, to stretch ỹ beginning to the highest degree of all astonishment that male light on the Reprobate in this life, or the damned in the next? when the holie ghost toucheth a naturall infirmity common to Christ with all the godlie in the like cases, doth your cõscience serue you to make of that not onlie a general and total distemper, but an Infernall confusion of all the powers of his soule, and senses of his bodie? had you consulted S. Ierom, hee would haue taught you an other lesson. [t] *Dominus vt veritatem probaret assumpti hominis, verè quidem contristatus est; sed ne passio in animo eius dominaretur per propassionem capit contristari. Aliud est enim contristari, aliud incipere contristari, &c.* The Lorde to shew himselfe a true man, was sorrowfull in verie deede, not that any passion ouerswaied his minde, but he began to be touched with the affection of sorrow. It is one thing to be sorrowfull, and an other to begin to be sorrowfull; his sorrow was not for any feare to suffer, since he came of purpose to suffer, and reproued *Peter* as too feareful, but for that most wretched *Iudas*, and the weakenes of all his Apostles, and the reiection of the whole nation of the Iewes, and the miserable destruction of Ierusalem. And if heretickes doe interpret

[q] Pag. 55.
[r] Pag: 53.
[r] Mark. 14.
[s] Math. 26.
[t] Ierom. in Matth. ca. 26

this sorrowe of heart, not for our Saiiours affection towardes them that shoulde perish, but for a perturbation of minde, let them answere me, howe they expounde that which *Ezechiel* speaketh in the person of God, and in all these thinges thou didst make me sorrowfull. Saint Ierome saieth, the wordes enforce no more, then that Christ began to bee sorrowfull and perplexed, and if anie man stretch them farther hee giueth him the note of an heretieke; and though I refraine that worde because I hope you doe it of ignorance and not of malice, yet I cannot excuse you from a dangerous errour, and that in foure speciall pointes. First you mistake the cause whence this feare arose; secondlie you extende it farther then in trueth you shoulde; thirdlie you continue it longer then with anie warrant you may; and fourthlie by pretence thereof you chalenge Christes prayers in the garden not onelie with want of good memorie, but with flat repugnancie to the knowne will of God; which is euident sinne.

Concerning the first I am resolued, as in the treatise before I haue specified, that the cause of Christes agonie, could not proceed, but from his submission to the maiestie of God sitting in iudgement, or from his compassion on mans miserie, or from both. You will haue it procede from [u] *the* *intolerable horrors of Gods fiery wrath equall to hell*; And where Cain saide, The horror of my sinne is heauier then I can beare, you doubt not but [x] *Christ as touching the vehemencie of the paine, was as sharpelie touched euen as the Reprobates themselues, yea if it may be, more extraordinarilie*. You that are so well acquainted with the horrors of the Reprobate for their sinnes, that you dare attribute them to Christ, can you tell what they are? is it speculation that you speake of, or experience; that you dare thus subiect the sonne of God to the same terrors and horrors of conscience, which namelie Cain as you saie, and other reprobates haue felt? I praie you, Sir, in so waightie matters as maie amounte to

Vide pag. 17

[u] Pag. 80

[x] Pag. 81.

heresie

hereſie and open blaſphemy, plaie not with generall termes, ſo as neither you vnderſtande your ſelfe, nor anie man elſe can conceiue your meaning. The terrors of the wicked in this life wee can coniecture, you canne perhaps liuelie deſcribe them, but for ought that wee learne by the ſcriptures they are ſuch, as without horrible impietie you cannot aſcribe vnto the Sauiour of the worlde. Remorſe of ſinne committed, vexing and gnawing the conſcience, is the firſt of their paines, which ſuffereth them night nor daie to take anie reſt. Secondlie, the feare that God, whome they haue deſpiſed, hath likewiſe reiected them and is become their enemie, and therefore from him they looke for nothing, but the iuſt vengeance of their ſinnes both in this life and the nexte, ſo purſueth them, that they tremble and flie when no man followeth them. Thirdlie the griefe to forſee themſelues excluded from the fellowſhip of that ioie and bliſſe, which is prouided for the ſaintes of GOD, which Chryſoſtom ſaieth is far more bitter then the paine of hel, doth make them ſinke for ſorrowe. Laſtlie the continuall terrour of that dreadfull iudgement which ſhall be pronounced, of that horrible confuſion which then ſhall ouerwhelme them; and of thoſe eternall and intollerable flames of fire in which they ſhall burne; the verie terrour I ſaie and horrour thereof doeth ſo afflict and torment them, as if they preſentlie felt it. More wordes may bee vſed, and perhaps more vehement to amplifie their paine; but theſe are the partes and cauſes of that feare and horrour, which purſueth the wicked for their haynous offences. Can anie of theſe, (Sir Refuter,) bee applied to Chriſt? Dare you but offer ſo much as the mention of the leaſt of them to bee founde in the ſonne of GOD? I thinke you dare not; I hope you will not. What meaneth then this matching of Chriſt with Cain? yea this touching of Chriſt deeper then anie of the Reprobate? In horrour and paine you ſaie, [y] *Chriſt was like them who be ſeparated in deede* [y] Pag. 77.

from the grace and loue of God, yet himselfe neuer separated, but alwaies most intirely beloued. The horrour and paine, which the Reprobate heere feele, riseth from the remorse of their owne conscience, and from the distrust and feare of their owne hearts; which pursueth them euen in this life before iudgement. The execution of his terrible vengeance indede God hath reserued to the next life. The greatest terror that the Apostle noteth in the wicked here in this world is, [z] a feareful expectation of iudgment and of burning fire which shall deuour the aduersaries. What horror then like the reprobate coulde the conscience of Christ feele, that had no remorse, distrust, or feare of anie such thing as they haue, but was assured and secured of Gods euerlasting fauour, and loue in the highest degree? was there paine without horrour and feare in the soule of Christ? if you meane the paine that is consequent to our naturall affections, as to sorrowe and feare, you saie nothing to the purpose. Saint Iohn saith [a] *timor habet pœnam*; Feare hath in it paine, and so hath sorrowe, euen as hope hath ioye; [b] Reioice in hope; but this is not the paine which the Reprobate feele, much lesse which the damned suffer; I trust their paine is more then a naturall oppressing and afflicting of the heart with humane feare and sorrowe. And therefore if I conceaue anie thing, you misse the truth verie much, Sir Confuter, when you saie that Christ was touched in horrour and paine as deepelie as the Reprobates are; and yet your conceite reacheth farther. For you defende that he suffered as much as the damned in hell, which is more then the reprobates doe in earth, howsoeuer to shewe your learning you make hell and heauen heere on earth. For my selfe (Christian Reader) whence I thinke, the astonishment of Christ in the garden might rise, thou hast it in the treatise before, I shall not need to repeat it againe.

[z] Hebre. 10

[a] 1. Iohn. 4

[b] Rom. 12.

In like maner you extend Christes agonie too farre; for where it was an agonie of minde, which did not bereaue him neither of sense, memorie, nor vnderstanding, you haue

brought vs a fardell of phrases, to expresse that *all the senses of his bodie, and al the powers of his soule were amazed, astonished, distempered, disturbed, distracted, forgetfull, ouerwhelmed*, and *all confounded*; and you thinke you neuer haue words enough to expresse your follie, in dreaming of the greatest astonishment that mate be, because the scripture saieth, he began to be astonished. But Sir, how proue you this you saie? as in feares and sorrowes there bee diuers degrées; so are there likewise in astonishmẽts. To be astonished is to ioine feare with admiration, which draweth the minde so wholie to think on some speciall thing aboue our reach, that during the time we turne not our selues to anie other cogitation. Euen as the eie, if it be bent intentiuelie to behold anie thing, for that present it discerneth nothing else: So fareth it with ẏ soule, if she wholie addict her selfe to thinke on anie matter, she is amused; if it bee more then she conceaueth, or more fearefull then she well indureth, she is amazed, or astonished; but not of necessitie so, that she loseth either sense or memorie; onelie for that time she conuerteth neither to anie other obiect. The present beholding of the diuine maiestie sitting in iudgement; and of his iustice armed with infinite power to reuenge the sinnes of men, might iustlie astonish the humane soule of Christ; seeing therewithal how mightilie God was prouoked by the manifold and wilfull transgressions of men; but this religious astonishment, though it might for a season suspend all other thoughtes in our Sauiour, yet is there no nede it shoulde depriue him of vnderstanding, sense or memorie. When Paul saieth [c] worke your saluation with feare and trembling, doth bee meane they should want memorie or vnderstanding? When Moses receaued the law from God, [d] so terrible was the sight that hee saide, I tremble and quake. Was Moses therefore voide of sense or reason at that present? [e] An horrible terror (saith Dauid) hath taken mee for the vngodlie that forsake thy lawe. Was Dauid for their sakes besides himselfe, and all confounded in bodie and

[c] Philip. 2

[d] Hebre. 12

[e] Psal. 119.

soule, as you speake here of Christ? Our whole conuersation shoulde bee as Paule professeth of himselfe, when hee saieth, [f] 1 Cor. 2 I was among you with much trembling and feare. Should therefore Christians bee alwayes besides themselues? [g] Pag. 61. "[g Christ often praied vnto his Father, you saie, and then presented himselfe before the Maiestie of God; and yet wee do not reade that euer hee was vexed, terrified, and amazed in so doing.] Sir Refuter, if your vnderstanding and memorie be not lost, I tolde you that the humane nature of Christ presented it selfe before the maiestie of God in iudgement, there to suffer man euerlastinglie to perish, whome hee deerelie loued, or to vndertake in his owne person that burthen, which the iustice of God, displeased with our sinnes, should laie vpon him. And if you doe not thinke this a cause sufficient for the manhoode of Christ to feare and tremble, yea for the time to bee astonished at the number of our sinnes, and terrour of Gods vengeance, prouided for our eternall destruction both of bodie and soule, you bee so dépe in your hellish paines, that your wits and senses are confounded. Absurdities and contrarieties are so rife with you, that you thinke other men can hardlie auoide them; but first vnderstand your owne, and then you shall the better charge others.

After you haue spent the whole strength of your small eloquence and lesse intelligence, to infer and amplifie the most [h] Pag. 73. "[h wonderfull and piteous agonies, feares, sorrowes, miseries, outcries, teares, astonishment, forgetfulnesse, and confusion of the powers of nature with which the sense of Gods wrath afflicted, distracted, amazed, ouerwhelmed, and all confounded our Sauiour in his whole humanity; You suddainlie, euen in the twinkling of an eie free him from all, and set him cleare, as if all this had béene but a dreame. For vppon Christes speaking of these woordes, [i] Father, if it bee possible let this cuppe passe [i] Matth. 26. from mee; you inferre, [k] if Christ had thus praied aduisedly [k] Page. 57 and with good memorie, against the knowne will of God hee had sinned

sinned. And in the words presentlie following without staie or pause betweene, yet not my will, but thine bee doone, you imagine that Christ, [l] *as it were comming suddainly to himselfe quickly controled his former words.* And thus when it pleaseth you, you put the sonne of God into [m] *a wonderfull and piteous confusion and forgetfulnesse of all the powers and partes of his bodie and soule*; and least you shoulde be convinced of a manifest, and irreligious untrueth, in the verie nicke of the nerte worde, which Christ spake with the same breath, you restore him to his perfect senses, and discharge him from your hellish confusion and paynes. But good Sir, if it were so *unsupportable and intolerable a burden, and confusion* as you dreame of, howe came our Saviour to bee so lightlie and quicklie ridde of it, as if there had bene no such thing? was that heavie and fierie wrath of GOD against our sinnes equall to hell so soone quenched? or was the sonne of God no longer able to endure it? [n] *Of all absurdities (your selfe beeing iudge, for it is your position) this is the greatest, that meere men should suffer more deepelie then Christ.* When if Cain endured this all his life long, if Saul and Iudas had no intermission of their payne, if the damned in hell, (from whome you fetch your patterne) doe everlastinglie suffer it, howe commeth it to passe, that after you have so hotlie stirred for it, you are so soone wearie of it? will you make vs beleeve, that Christes obedience and patience was tried with a touch of this hellish paine, and so an ende? or will you returne it as often as please you? and if this cuppe did so quicklie passe from our Saviour, howe did hee then praie against the knowne will of God; which is an other of your foundations, when as, in the uttering of these words, the cup did passe from him, by your owne confession? In like sorte to excuse Christ from sinne, [o] *in praying against the will of his Father, you cast him into a wonderfull confusion*

[l] Pag. 71.
[m] Pag. 73.
[n] Pag. 48.
[o] Pag. 55.

"*confusion and forgetfulnesse of all the powers of his soule, and sen-*
"*ses of his body*: and in the same page, for an other aduantage,
[p] Pag. 59. "you auouch that in that praier, Christ [p] PERFECTLIE
"KNEVV *the dominion of death shoulde not holde him.* Were all the powers of his soule ouerwhelmed and all confounded, and yet did he euen in that whole confusion of sense, memorie, and vnderstanding PERFECTLY KNOVV the dominion of death should not holde him? can a man haue his knowledge and memorie all confounded and ouerwhelmed, and yet retaine PERFECT KNOVVLEDGE? coulde Christ forget his fathers will in that praier through astonishment, and in the speaking of the woords remember he praied amisse, and in the nexte woorde quicklie correct himselfe? Surelie these be conceites answerable to your cause; and deuices fit for your diuinitie; But (Sir Refuter,) let passe your dreames, and shewe vs your proofes, that Christ praied against the knowne will of his father, which you make the groundwork of this confusion: and when you haue so done, then prooue that your hellish paine was the cause of this astonishment. Manie thinges might astonish our Sauiour for the time, besides the paines of hell; and in that astonishment, if Christ
[q] Luc. 9. had spoke he knew not what (which I beleeue not) as [q] Peter did when he sawe his glorie in the mountaine, it had beene a defect in nature, and no contempt of Gods counsell, much lesse such an infernall confusion as you describe.

[r] Pag. 59. "[It is manifest (you saie) that Christ [r] *in plaine words praied*
"*contrarie to Gods known will*:] It is more manifest that you knowe not what you saie. How coulde he praie against his
[s] Luc. 22. Fathers will that praied expresslie with this condition, [s] & Father IF THOV VVILT take awaie this cup from me. [That is a correction after the praier (you will saie) and no condition in the praier.] Are you so captious against Christ, that
[t] Mat. 26. you will not supplie one Euangelist with an other? [t] Luke and [t] Matthew put a plaine condition vnto the praier of Christ; the one saying, father if thou wilt; the other, father if

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it be posible, that is to stand with thy will, and mans sal-
uation. And though Marke omit the condition in the tenor
of the praier, yet doth he fullie expresse his meaning to bee al
one with the rest. For thus he saieth of our Sauiour, [a] hee [a] Mark.14.
fell downe on the grounde, and praied that IF IT VVERE
POSSIBLE, that houre might passe from him. So that all
thee Euangelistes concurre, that Christ praied not onelie
with a reseruation of his fathers will, but annexed that con-
dition vnto his praier; and therefore in all mens eies saue
yours, hee praied not in plaine wordes contrarie to Gods
knowne will. And this erroneous and contumelious positi-
on you set downe to the worlde, as the chiefest fortresse of
your hellish paines, wherein you plainly wrest the scriptures
from their expresse words. [But S. Iohn, you will saie, repor-
teth Christes praier to bee simplie made, [x] Father, saue mee [x] Iohn.12.
from this houre.] Saint Iohn speaketh of an other time and
place; and his wordes import a deliberation of two partes
proposed by our Sauiour, with his resolution in the ende;
what shall I saie? Father deliuer me from this hower; that is,
shall I saie deliuer me from this hower? but therefore came
I into this hower. Father glorifie thy name. Chrysostom thus
expoundeth Christes wordes: [y] NON DICO *libera me ex* [y] Chrysost. in
hac hora, sed pater glorifica nomen tuum. I SAIE NOT, de- Ioan. Homil. 66
liuer me from this hower, but father glorifie thy name. And so
doth Epiphanius. *Quid dicam pater? serua me ex hac hora, hoc* Epiphan. lib. 2
inquit dicam? at propterea veni in hanc horam. What shall I Hæres 69.
saie? Father saue mee from this hower? shall I saie so? but
therefore came I into this hower. But what better expos-
tor canne wee haue then Saint Paul, who plainely saith that
Christ in making this praier was heard, & [z] deliuered from [z] Hebre.5
that he feared. Hee praied not against the knowne will of
God, whose praiers God heard and performed. And where
you flie to this hellish confusion to saue Christ from sinne,
by pretending to cleere him from sinne, you charge him ra-
ther with sinne. For the praier which is not made in faith

is sinne. Nowe can the heart be assured it shall receaue that it asketh at Gods hands, if it bee neither directed to aske according to the will of God, nor prepared to aske with that deuotion which is fit for God? So that when you make Christ to triple his praiers with vehement teares and cries, & still repugnant to the will of God, you chalenge the sonne of God with open sinne, from which you would seeme to excuse him. And as for your double relapse into the same astonishment still, when Christ was twice cleere from it, it is a foolish deuice of your idle braines, as if the Lorde no sooner returned to his praiers, but your hellish confusion did waite at his heeles, to interrupt and ouerwhelm him; and within fiue wordes againe to leaue him. If your cause be holie, iest not thus prophanelie with the sonne of God, nor bereaue him of his wits, when you thinke good. If it were a necessarie effect of Gods wrath, then after it lighted on our Sauiour in the garden, it must continue till man was redeemed, and Gods wrath appeased, which was not done but by the death of Christ: And therefore make your choise: either let the wrath of God cease in the garden, when Christ ended his praiers; or if that still continued to the death, let also this astonishment still continue, or at least bee no necessarie effect of Gods wrath. One of these you must take, take which you will; the rest will serue to subuert your tower of Babell.

[I doe you wrong, you will saie, to call your opinion the tower of Confusion;] you do your selfe wrong (Sir Refuter) in the chiefest point of Christian religion to leaue the faith confessed by the whole Church of Christ for these 1500. yeares, and to walke in such ambiguities, and absurdities as your selfe doe not understande. For I praie you, Sir, this *wonderfull confusion and astonishment in all powers of the soule, and senses of the bodie*, is it a necessarie consequent to the wrath of GOD, or no? If it bee, (for you saie, *Christ coulde not but sinke, and bee confounded vnder that burden*) howe commeth it to passe, Pag. 54.

that

that the reprobate and desperate, feeling the sense of GODS wrath vpon them, doe not loose their wits, and senses as Christ by your assertion did: will you affirme they are astonished and all confounded as Christ was? then if you excuse Christ from sinne, in disliking and declining his Fathers knowne will, because hee was astonished; you must likewise excuse all the wicked and Reprobate from their sinnes, after they once feele the sense of Gods wrath, because they cannot but bee astonished and confounded vnder that burden? Againe, could Christ not sinne, whiles hee felte the wrath of God vppon him, because he was astonished? Ergo neither could hee merite all that while, and so neither his obedience, patience, humilitie, nor charitie could haue anie place, or vse, so long as the sense of GODS wrath dured. Haue you not deuised vs a goodlie sense of Gods wrath, that shall exclude Christ Iesus from the exercise of all his graces, vertues, and merites? This palpable absurditie you thinke to skippe, (Sir Refuter,) but your wit is too weake, or your cause not good; it will not bee. [a *If a man in distresse fall a sleepe*, saie you, or *be astonished with some violent blowe on the heade, in such an one there is no decaie of faith, nor of obedience, nor of patience, nor of loue; euen so in Christ there was no defect of grace, but an infirmitie of nature.*] Was Christ a sleepe or in a swoune? astonished you thinke, he was. Was hee so astonished that his senses were taken from him? did hee not walke? did he not speake? did hee not pray? Whie then compare you this to a sleep or a swoune, whereas in Christ was neither? and though you plainelie faile in your comparison; yet, were it so, as you would haue it, for your life you cannot auoide my conclusion. For a man in a sleepe or a swoune, though he loose not the habite of faith and patience, obedience and loue, yet hath hee no vse of them for that time; much lesse doth hee serue God with them. But Christ Iesus by all his sufferinges must merite, which a

a Page. 57.

man a sleepe or amazed cannot doe. And therefore remember, (Sir Refuter) this reason amongst the rest is yet vnanswerd; and I thinke wil somwhat trouble your braines before it bee answered. All that Christ suffered for our Redemption was, and must bee, meritorious with God. But the suffering of hell paynes, which astonish and confounde all the powers of the soule, and senses of the bodie, neither was, nor coulde bee meritorious with God; Christ therefore did not suffer such hellish paynes as did confounde and astonish all the powers of his soule and senses of his bodie. And thus, by your amazed position, you haue wholie confounded your owne opinion.

Thou hast heard (good Reader) a number of the Refuters spectall follies; I haue some fewe more to trouble thee with, and so I will leaue him to his holie cause, and thee to the mercies of God. To shewe himselfe learned as well in the Greeke tongue, as in philosophie, hee vndertaketh an other reason that I made, and sporteth himselfe somewhat handsomlie with it. Out of the fift to the Hebrewes where the Apostle saieth, [b] Christ in the daies of his flesh did offer vp prayers and supplications with strong cryes and teares vnto him that was able to saue him from death, and was heard in that he feared, or deliuered from his feare; I collected two things. First that Christ in his praiers made in ỹ garden (for to those the Apostle pointeth) did but feare, and not as then suffer that he feared. The nexte, he was deliuered from his feare; and consequentlie neuer came to suffer that from which hee was deliuered. This Confuter replieth, as hee thinketh, verie soundlie, and verie sufficientlie. Thou shalt heare the whole. My reason hee maketh to bee this. [c] *That wherein*

[b] Hebre. 5.

[c] Pag. 24. *Christ was heard and deliuered from by praier, he feared but felt not. But Christ was heard and deliuered by prayer from the wrath*

[d] Ibidem. *which he feared, therefore he felt it not.* His answere is. [d] *Nay euen therefore he felt it. Wee deny therefore the first proposition. For hee was in some sense of it, when hee praied against it, and was heard*

heard. He had then some foretaſt but the extremity came after, which hee before feared. And finallie hee being in all this was heard (as the verie word (εἰσακουσθεὶς) ſeemeth to import) and delyuered from it, that is at leaſt, not before hee had felt it. Againe very the fearing of Gods wrath is a true feeling, I ſaie not a ful feeling, but a true feeling: but it is granted that now in this Agonie hee feared the wrath of God: Therefore hee truelie felt it. Therefore the Queſtion is granted. You wrote this in the morning, Sir Reſuter, when you were freſh and faſting, it is ſo ſhort and ſharpe; but belike it was darke, or your eies were dull you could not ſée neither what I ſaid, nor what your ſelfe ſaie. The force of my reaſon conſiſted in this, that where feare goeth before ſuffering, and is no longer called feare when ſuffering commeth; if Chriſt at the time of his praiers in the garden were deliuered from his feare, much more from anie ſuffering of that hee feared. And ſince by your owne poſitions you affirme hee feared in his agonie the paines of hell; I concluded hee ſuffered them not. Let vs now ſée howe you impugne this reaſon. You firſt change ſuffering into féeling, and becauſe the ſoule in all hir affections hath a kind of feeling, you inferre, *naie therefore Chriſt felt it*. Your manner is too ſhrowde your ſelfe with generall and ambiguous words that maie ſignifie anie thing, and then you ſhew your learning in ſpeaking you knowe not what. But vſe the word ſuffering which I did, or take feeling for ſuffering, in which ſence it maie ſtand; and then ſée how abſurdlie and falſlie you take my reaſon at this rebound. For then you muſt ſaie. Fearing is a kind of feeling, Chriſt feared the paines of hell, ergo Chriſt ſuffered them; and ſo by your logicke whoſoeuer feareth captiuitie or death, is a captiue, and dead; and hee that feareth to loſe his purſe, hath loſt it; yea hee that feareth to offend God, doth offend him; and hee that feareth to bee an heretícke, is an heretícke. I thought though your diuinitie had not, yet your

Vide Pag. 29.

Philosophie coulde haue serued you to vnderstand; that
[c] *metus est mali impendentis, ægritudo præsentis*; feare is of an
[e] Cicero. Tusc. quæst. lib. 4 euill approching; griefe or paine, of an euill present. If you
scorne philosophers, whom for the proprietie of words, you
preferre before all the diuines in the world, as anon shall
[f] Lactant. de vero cultu. li. 6. ca. 14 appeare: Lactantius telleth you, that of [f] Desire, ioy, feare and
sorrow, the two first (desire and ioy) are for good things ap-
proching or present: the two last (feare and sorrow) for euill
likewise approching or present. S. Ambrose will teach you
[g] Ambros. de Iacob et beata vita li 1. ca 2. that, [g] *ante dolorem est timor, post dolorem tristitia*: feare is
before griefe or paine; after paine followeth heauines. And like-
[h] Gregor. moral. li. 9. cap. 39. wise Gregorie, [h] *In his vitæ tormentis, timor dolorem habet, do-
lor timorem non habet, quia nequaquam mentem metus cruciat,
cum pati iam cæperit, quod metuebat.* In the torments in this life
feare hath some griefe, but griefe hath no feare; because feare
doth not afflict the mind, when a man once suffereth that, which
he feared. This were enough to make my argument good,
but it hath yet more strength from the Apostles words: Christ
praying in the garden was heard from his feare; that is was
deliuered from his feare. Now is a man deliuered from his
feare by suffering that he feared? So wee iest with men,
when we will giue them their deserts, and let them stand no
longer in suspence; but God so iested not with his sonne, as
to rid him from his feare by present punishment. God there-
fore heard Christs prayer and deliuered him from his feare,
when as yet he did not suffer it; and being deliuered from it
in the garden, how came he to suffer it more extremely on
the Crosse? For you saie, [i] *Christ was in some sense of it, when*
[i] P. 48. 74. "*hee praied against it, he had then some fortaste of it, but the extre-
mitie came after, which he before feared.* Syr confuter, if you
can iest & gybe thus with the Apostles words, I must leaue
you as lacking both conscience & commō sense; & so will all ỹ
be godly. Christ praying in the garden was deliuered from his
feare, saith Paul; that is say you, after he *had suffered on the*
"*Crosse, the extremitie of that which he before feared.* So thē for

Christ

Christ to be deliuered, from that he feared, was (by your construction) to suffer the extremitie of that he feared. Will you that God send you such deliuerance in the time of need, that so prophanely play with the deliuerance of his sonne? [He was deliuered you will say, from the continuance of it?] So (good Syr) Christ neuer feared the paines of hell should continue on him after death; it is horrible blasphemy so to think; & vnto death you say they continued. How was he then deliuered from his feare? or haue you so soone forgotten your owne words, if you regard not myne? [k] *It is absurd to saie he praied in feare against that which he perfectly knew should neuer come vnto him, namely that the Dominion of Death should hold him.* If the dominion of death should not hold his bodie, much lesse should hell hold his soule. [k] Pag. 59.

[But the Greeke word, εἰσακουσθεὶς, you saie, seemeth to import a deliuerance after Christ was in that he feared: εἰσακουσθεὶς, [l] *He was heard being in it.*] As is your diuinitie, Syr confuter, so is your Greeke. For if Christ were heard; then God did heare him; & so if εἰς ioyned to the passiue of ἀκούω signifie that Christ was heard being in the paines of hell; then εἰς, ioyned to the Actiue, and referred to God, must likewise import that God being in ỹ same paines did heare him. Haue you not brought vs a learned obseruation out of your Greeke store, that God which heard, and Christ that was heard, were both in the paines of hell? But indeed εἰσακούειν is to hearken vnto, as wee do when we bend our eare to anothers speech; and εἰσακουσθεὶς is harkned vnto or heard. The word is fiue times vsed in the new testament, but in the Septuagint nothing more frequent to signifie that we harken to Gods voice when we obey him, and God harkneth to our voice, when hee graunteth our praiers. Feare not saith the Angell to Zacharie εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου, thy praier is heard, thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee a sonne, Soe the Angell to Cornelius, εἰσηκούσθη σου ἡ προσευχὴ thy praier is hearde. [o] with strange [l] Pag. 63. [m] Luc. 1. [n] Act. 10

[o] 1 Cor: 14 strange toonges will I speake to this people, saith the Lord, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου, and neither so will they har-
[p] Eccles: 3: ken vnto mee. The wise man in like manner, [p] ὁ εἰσακούων Κυρίου, hee that harkeneth vnto the Lord, giueth rest to his mother. And the Septuagint, Whē thou praiest, saith Eliphas
[q] Iob: 22: in the booke of Iob, [q] εἰσακούσεταί σου, God will heare thee. [r] Earlie, saith Dauid to God, εἰσάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου,
[r] Psal. 55 shalt thou heare my voice. So in Esaie, [s] the eare of the Lord is
[s] Esa. 59. not shutte, μὴ εἰσακούσαι not to heare. Infinite examples might bee brought to the same end, but these are sufficient to conuince your ignorant mistaking of the Greeke tongue; yet the Question you saie is granted. [t] *For fearing*
[t] Pag. 74. "*is a true feeling, and if Christ feared the wrath of God, ergo he*
"*felt it.* You recken a pace when you recken alone, but when you come for allowance you will lacke a faire deale of your reckning. If fearing were suffering, which is most absurd; if there were no kind of feare, but your amazed and all confounded feare, as there be more other kinds of feares; if there were noe more parts of the wrath of God, but hell paines, as there be sundrie more; if no man might feare but for himselfe, as in charitie wee may, and in duty we ought to feare for others, and Christ in loue might and did for vs; then had you some hope, that he which granteth the one, would admit the other: but if this be all you can saie, that feare is a kind of feeling, I am as farre from granting the Question, as I was in the first beginning. For though you dallie with doubtfull words, and thinke it enough to catch here and there at a likelihood, my course is not so. Indeede out of these words I reasoned vppon your owne principles: and supposing it for the time to be true which on this place some auouch, that Christ feared the paines of hell, I concluded, if Christ were deliuered from fearing, he was certainlie deliuered from suffering the paines of hell. And before you answere the argument, you triumph as if the Question were granted. But syr remember it

is

is the suffering of hell paines that we talke of, and not of a Metaphorical kinde of feeling; which you substitute in steed thereof. Againe all the effects of Gods wrath Christ did not feele, nor feare, as namelie, neither reprobation, nor desperation, nor eternall damnation, which is the chiefest and sharpest effect of Gods iust wrath against sinne. Some partes thereof if hee did feare, and so in affection feele, howe doth it followe hee felt or feared hell paines? Thirdlie, hee did sustaine as well our person, as our cause; hee had not onelie compassion on vs, but coniunction with vs; and in that respect as our head hee might worthilie feare the euerlasting destruction of his bodie, if he did not interpose himselfe, and auert Gods wrath from them, by healing them with his owne stripes, and bearing their sinnes in his owne bodie. Fourthlie he might feare the power of Gods wrath, able to punish euen the bodie of Christ with farre more smart, then his humane flesh was able to endure. Lastlie, hee might carefullie shunne and decline both our sinne and the wages of our sinne, which is eternall death with a religious feare, as content to redeeme vs, but not to destroie both himselfe and vs.

And this commeth neerest the signification of the Greek worde there vsed, which is no confused or amazed feare, such as you woulde cunninglie conuey vnder the name of *a perplexed feare*, but a carefull and diligent regarde to beware and decline that, which wee mislike or doubt. And therefore εὐλαβὴς is not onelie one that feareth God by taking good care not to displease him, but a circumspect and warie man in other thinges; and εὐλάβεια is circumspection and warinesse in priuate or publique affaires, as well as Religion to GOD. Nowe because the bolder men are, the sooner they aduenture on anie thing, and the more fearefull, the more heede they take what they do; εὐλάβεια by consequent signifieth an inclination rather to feare, then presumption; but it is lesse then φόβος, which

a Pag. 74.

is the vsuall worde in Greeke for feare, as maie plainelie be proued by Plutarch in his Treatise of Morall vertues; where, noting howe men couer vitious affections vnder the names of vertues, he saieth, [x] ἡ αἰσχύνεσθαι αἰδεῖσθαι καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ ἥδεσθαι χαίρειν, καὶ τὰς φόβους εὐλαβείας; They call blushing reuerence; mirth gladnesse, and feare warinesse. Euripides in the person of Eteocles king of Thebes, saieth, [y] ἡδ' εὐλάβεια χρησιμωτάτη θεῶν, Circumspect care is the most profitable Goddesse. And where you quote the 23. of the Acts for proofe of your conceit, the place is rather against you then with you. For when the Councell dissented about Paule, and some tumult began to arise, the [z] Tribune doubting least some hurt might happen vnto Paule then his prisoner, preuented it, and sent his souldiers to take him away from the midst of the throng. This feare of the tribune was for another man, not for himselfe, neither was it perplexed or amazed feare, but a doubt foresaking the worst, and preuenting it. So is it written of Noah, that being admonished by God of the flood which should come vpon the world, by faith [a] εὐλαβηθεὶς, fearing, declining and preuenting (what God had threatned to others) he made ready the Arke, for the sauing of his housholde. This could be no distrustfull feare, what should befall him and his house; for his faith is commended by the Apostle in preparing the Arke, for the safetie of himself and his children; but he shunned that which he saw would light on others; and that the scripture there calleth εὐλαβηθεὶς. The rest that maie concerne Christs praier in the garden, or might occasion that agonie which there hee shewed, thou hast (gentle Reader) in the [b] treatise before; which I will not here resume, least I wearie thee with ouer much tediousnesse.

[x] Plutarch. de virtute moral.

[y] Euripid. in Phœnis.

[z] Acts. 23.

[a] Heb. 11.

[b] Vide pag. 17.

For a farewell to his speciall reasons, the Confuter hath reserued matters of most speciall moment to the last: and because they are weightie and neede good proofe, hee hath searched the bottome of his studie, and sheweth vs here

the depth as well of his reading, as vnderstanding. But of the Epistle to the Hebrues he citeth these wordes; [b] *Christ through death abolished him that had the power of death, that is the Diuell.* From hence hee reasoneth thus. [c] *Surelie the worde* DEATH *hath the same meaning in both places: verie fonde it were to take it here otherwise. Nowe it is questionlesse, in this latter place, death signifieth the death of the soule, the tormentes and sorrowes of the damned, which are separated from the life of God: of which death the Diuell is sayde to haue the power and execution. Therefore in the former place death signifieth so to, euen the death of the soule, that is the torments and sorrowes due to the damned, and* [d] *consequently Christ suffered the death of the soule.* And because *this reason will seeme altogether vnreasonable and harsh in the eares of some, to saie the least of it, let them soberlie consider it, and it is most true and euident:* But if this will not perswade men to beleeue that Christ died the death of the soule, [c] *men liuing being surprised with grieuous sorrowes and paines, will saie* (as Terence witnesseth, *occidi, perij, interij*) *they die, they perish. So likewise the death of the soule sometimes maie bee vnderstoode and that most fitlie for the paines and sufferinges of Gods wrath, which alwayes accompanie them that are separated from the grace and loue of God.* And if Terence bee not authoritie sufficient, Saint Peter against whome lieth no exception, [g] *saith, that Christ in his suffering for vs was done to death in the flesh, but made aliue by the spirite. And in the Scripture whensoeuer the flesh and the spirite are opposed to either,* [h] *the flesh is alwayes Christes whole humanitie, I saie not his bodie onelie, but his soule also. From hence nowe it followeth, that Christes soule also died, and was crucified according to the death and crucifying, which soules are subiect vnto, and capable of.* I haue (Christian Reader) neither peruerted the reasons, nor pared the authorities, on which his Confuter groundeth his conclusion, that Christ died

[b] Heb. 2.

[c] Pag. 77

[d] Pag. 75.

[c] Pag. 76

[f] Pag. 77.

[g] Pag. 78.

[h] Pag. 79.

the death of the soule, and that Christs soule was also crucified as well as his bodie; I haue onelie sette them togither, that thou maiest with one view behold both the deepnes and soundnesse of this vpstart writer; and in thy secrete and vpright iudgement, is it not patience enough to heare and endure a two legged creature to talke in this sort without all learning, religion or discretion, controlling all the fathers as foles, for thinking otherwise then hee doth, commaunding the Scriptures pretor-like, to serue his ignorant and lewd assertions, and esteeming none to be sober or considerate, except they confesse his shamefull absurdities to bee most true and euident? But I haue not learned nor vsed to giue reuiling speeches, the Lorde reprooue his follie. Though it bee not worth the answering, yet for their sakes that bee simple, I will not refuse to speake to it, and to let them see what difference there is betwixt truth and errour.

Your maine reason (Sir Refuter) is this, in these wordes of the Apostle, *Christ through death abolished the diuell that had power of death. This worde* DEATH (say you) *hath the same meaning in both places*, the proofe you make for it is this, *verie fond it were to take it here otherwise.* Your assumption is, *but death in the latter place questionlesse signifieth the death of the soule; Therefore Christ died the death of the soule.* It were as easie for mee to saie, it is not so; as for you to saie, it is so; but that course which you holde is but praating of euerie thing, it is no prouing of anie thing. Howe manie kinds of death there are, wee shall better learne by the graue father Saint Austen, then by the young louers in Terence: [1] *Dicitur mors prima, dicitur & secunda. Primæ mortis duæ sunt partes, vna qua peccatrix anima per culpam discessit a creatore suo: altera qua iudicante Deo exclusa est per pœnam à corpore suo. Mors autem secunda ipsa est corporis & animæ punitio sempiterna.* There is a first death and a second Death. Of the first death there be two parts: one, when the

[1] August. serm. 129.

the sinfull soule by offending departed from her Creator; the other whereby the soule for her punishment was excluded from her bodie by Gods iustice. The second death is the euerlasting torment of bodie and soule. **The same partes and kindes of death are often repeated by him in his 13. booke** *de ciuitate Dei*; **as namelie,** [k] *Mors animæ fit cum eam deserit Deus, sicut corporis cum id deserit anima. Ergo vtriusq; rei, id est totius hominis mors est, cum anima à Deo deserta deserit corpus. Ita enim nec ipsa viuit ex deo, nec corpus ex ipsa. Huiusmodi autem totius hominis mortem illa sequitur quam secundam mortem diuinorum eloquiorum appellat authoritas. Nam illa pœna vltima & sempiterna recte mors animæ dicitur.* The death of the soule is, when God forsaketh her, as the death of the bodie is, when the soule forsaketh the bodie. So ỹ death of both, that is of the whole man is when the soule forsaken of God forsaketh her bodie. For so neither she liueth by God, nor the bodie by her. This death of the whole man, that other death followeth; which the diuine scriptures call the second death, for that last and euerlasting punishment is rightlie called the death of the soule. **Here are three kinds of death; sinne which separateth vs from God, bodilie death, which separateth the soule from the body, and eternall damnation which tormenteth body and soule for euer. In the Apostles words to the** Hebrues, **that** Christ through death abolished ỹ diuell that had power of death; **you will by no meanes haue the death of the bodie intended; that is a benefite and gaine to the godlie. Then of sinne and eternall damnation the diuell must be said to haue power, and indeede so he hath. For hee is the perswader and leader to sinne, and the executioner and tormentor in damnation. And so by your diuinitie Christ must sinne, and be euerlastinglie condemned to hell fire, before he can abolish the Diuell that hath power of both these. For he must abolish him, by the same kind of death, whereof hee hath power. Looke, Sir Refuter, what an wholsome exposition of the Apostles words you haue made vs, which the diuell himselfe durst not aduenture,**

[k] Augustin. de ciuitate dei. lib. 13. cap. 2.

it is so blasphemous. God forbid you will say, this should be ante part of your meaning. But if such bee your ignorant rashnesse, that you will so expound scriptures, as these consequents shall necessarie followe, you must leaue writing, and fall to learning an other whyle, till you be able to foresee what may iustly be inferred vpon your positions. Deaths of the soule there are none mentioned in ante Scripture, or father, but sinne and eternall damnation. Leaue the pathetically, hyperbolicall & metaphorically phrases of Terence, to boies in the Grammer schole, speake at least like a diuine, though you bee none. If your cause bee so holie a truth as you talke of, it hath both foundation and approbation in the Scriptures. You shall not neede to runne to heathen Poets to proove that the Sauiour of the worlde died the death of the soule. What the death of the soule is, what consequentes it hath, and what maine and moste sufficient reasons there are, why Christ neither did, nor might die the death of the soule, thou hast (good Reader) before in the Treatise it selfe: if this fumbler either will skippe them, or can not answere them, I must not repeate them as often as hee will neglect them. Yet to ease thee of going backe, I will here giue thee the effect thereof.

Vide pag. 73.

The life and death of the soule is in manie hundred places learnedlie and truelie vouched and prooued by Saint Austen.[l] *Mori carni tuæ est amittere vitam suam; mori animæ tuæ est amittere vitam suam. Vita carnis tuæ anima tua, vita animæ tuæ Deus tuus. Quomodo moritur caro amissa anima, quæ vita eius est; sic moritur anima amisso Deo, qui vita est eius.* For thy bodie to die, is to loose his life; and for thy soule to die, is to loose her life. The life of thy bodie is thy soule. The life of thy soule is thy God. As the bodie dieth when the soule is departed, which is his life; so the soule dieth when God is departed which is her life. And againe. [m] *Quomodo ergo mortua est anima de qua viuit corpus? Audi ergo & disce*

[l] Auguſt. in Iohan. tract. 47.

[m] Auguſt. de verbis Apoſt. ſerm 30.

disce; corpus hominis creatura Dei est, & anima hominis creatura dei est. De anima deus viuificat carnem, ipsam autem animam viuificat de seipso, non de seipsa. Vita ergo corporis anima est, vita anima Deus est: moritur corpus cum recedit anima, moritur ergo anima si recedit Deus. Carnem iacentem sine anima vides; animam miseram sine Deo videre non potes? Crede ergo, adhibe oculos fidei. How dieth the soule then by which the bodie liueth? Hearken and learne. The bodie of man is the creature of God, & so is the soule. By the soule God giueth life to the flesh, but the soule her selfe God quickeneth by himselfe, and not by herselfe. The life of the bodie then is the soule, the life of the soule is God. The bodie dieth when the soule departeth, ergo the soule dieth if God depart from her. Thou seest the flesh lying dead without a soule, and canst thou not see the soule wretched without God? Beleeue then, and open the eies of faith. **And speaking of the particular consequents to the life and death of the soule, the same father saith:** [n] *Quomodo cum anima est in corpore, præstat illi vigorem, decorem, mobilitatem; Sic cum vita eius Deus est in ipsa, præstat illi sapientiam, pietatem, iustitiam, charitatem; veniente itaq; verbo & audientibus infuso resurgit anima à morte sua ad vitam suam, hoc est ab iniquitate, ab insipientia, ab impietate, ad Deum suum qui est illi sapientia, iustitia, charitas.* As when the soule is in the bodie, shee giueth vigour, comelinesse and motion to the bodie; so when God her life is in the soule, he giueth her wisedome, pietie, righteousnesse and charitie, The worde (of God) then sounding and infused to the hearers, the soule riseth from her death to her life, that is from iniquitie, follie, and impietie, to her God, who is to her wisedome, righteousnesse, and charitie. **If this were not plaine inough; the Scriptures themselues are so euident, that no man can mistake the life of the soule, except hee will purposelie blinde himselfe, least hee shoulde come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sonne of God is** [o] life, and comming down from heauen, [p] gaue life to the world, [q] quickning whom hee would [r] with the waters of life, that is by

[n] Augustin. in Iohan. tract. 19.

[o] Iohn. 1.
[p] Iohn. 6.
[q] Iohn. 5.
[r] Iohn. 7.

by the [f] spirite of life, yea [t] whosoeuer beleeueth, and [u] abideth in him, hath life and beareth fruite in him. For the iust shall [x] liue by faith, and he that dwelleth in [y] loue, dwelleth in God, and God in him, for God is loue. So that not onely Christ is our life, [z] and he that hath the sonne hath life, but [a] with him, and in him, alwaies was, and alwaies will bee, the [b] fountaine of life, which neuer did nor can drie vp: how then could Christ die the death of the soule, whose soule was personallie vnited, vnto the worde that was life in it selfe? And if the grace and spirite of God in vs, make vs liue by God, and in God; if faith and loue knitte men to the life of God; howe coulde the soule of Christ alwaies full of grace and truth, alwaies full of faith and loue, and of the holie Ghost, bee deade?

[f] Rom. 8.
[t] Iohn. 6.
[u] Iohn 15
[x] Galat. 3.
[y] 1. Iohn 4.
[z] 1. Iohn. 5.
[a] Colos. 3.
[b] Reuel. 22.

[But this Refuter meaneth another death of the soule.] What his meaning is, is not materiall, but whether hee meane truth or no. If he wil frame vs a monster in christian religion, what haue I to do with that, but to detect it? There is another death after this life, mentioned both in scriptures and fathers, which is the second death. But I hope this Confuter will eate and slepe vpon the cause before hee wrappe our Sauiour within euerlasting damnation. That is, a death in deed from which God bleese and saue vs all. They must needes bee good Christians that labour to bring Christes soule within the compasse of the second death. [c] *Hæc mortalitas est vmbra mortis; vera mors est damnatio cum Diabolo.* Our death is here but a shadow of death; the true death indeede is damnation with the diuell, saith Austen. And againe [d] *Quid est ista mors? Est relictio corporis, depositio sarcinæ grauis: mors secunda, mors æterna, mors gehennarum, mors damnationis cum Diabolo, ipsa est vera mors*: What is this death? It is the leauing of the bodie, and the laying downe of an heauier burthen; for the second death, the death that is eternall, the death of hell, the death of condemnation with the Diuell, that is the true death. Which of these two deathes of the soules,

[c] August in psa. 43.
[d] Idem in Iohan. tract. 43

soules, you will haue the soule of Christ subiected vnto, you must tell vs, (Sir Refuter,) if you will needes haue him die the death of the soule; and the choise is so good, that take which you will, you incur hainous and horrible blasphemie. I wish you to bee better aduised, then to proceede to the defence of so wilfull a frensie. As for new deaths of the soule, you haue no commission to inuent anie; shewe what scripture or Father spake it before you, or you must giue the godlie leaue to thinke you no fit founder of a newe faith. S. Austen was of opinion that no Christian durst auouch that Christ died the death of the soule, [c] *Nam quod Iesus anima mortificatus fuerat, quis audeat dicere, cum mors animæ non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit?* That Christ was dead in soule VVHO DARES AFFIRME IT, whereas the death of the soule (in this life) is nothing but sinne, from which hee was altogether free? you not onelie auouch it, but you thinke no man sober that will not consent to it. But you did well to prophesie of this conceite of yours, that it woulde *seeme harsh and altogether vnreasonable in the eares of some, to saie the least of it*; In the eares of all that bee wise and learned it will sound worse, for it is a flat repugnancie not only to all the Fathers, but euen to the christian faith, that Christ died as well in soule as in bodie; and as meane a man as I am, I thinke I shall bee able to make that good which I saie. For if the soule of Christ were alwaies perfectlie vnited vnto life, fullie possessed of life, and aboundantly able to giue life, tell me I praie you howe it maie stande with the trueth of the scriptures, that the same soule was for anie time deade? you may euen as well defende that Christ sinned, as that his soule died, for the death of the soule is sinne in this life, and damnation in the next. [f] *Certe anima Christi nulla mortificata peccato vel damnatione punita est, quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest*: Surelie the soule of Christ was deade with no sinne, nor punished with any damnation, which are the two waies that the death of the soule may bee

[c] Idē epist. 99

[f] Aug. epist. 99

posibly conceaued.

[g] Pag. 77. « [The death of the soule, say you,[g] *may be vnderstood, & that*
« *most fitly, for the paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, which al-*
« *waies accompany them that are separated from the grace and loue*
« *of God. This death of the soule* yee affirme *(Christ suffered;*
« *yet hee himselfe neuer separated, but most intirely beloued, yea*
[h] Pag. 42 « *most*[h] *holie, most innocent, and most blessed.*] You contradict, (Sir Refuter,) not onlie the scriptures and fathers, but euen your selfe in one and the same sentence, and reele like a man whose braines are not steadie. [i] *Secundum scripturas*

[i] Ambros. de fide resurrect. *triplicem esse mortem accepimus. Vna est cum morimur peccato, deo viuimus. Beata mors quæ a mortali nos separat, immortali conseruat. Alia mors est vitæ excessus cum anima nexu corporis liberatur. Tertia mors est de qua dictum est, anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur. Ea morte non solum caro sed etiam anima moritur; hæc mors non est perfunctio huius vitæ, sed lapsus erroris.* By the scriptures (saith Ambrose) we learne there is a triple death. One when we die to sinne and liue to God. This is a blessed death, which seuereth vs from that which is mortall, and ioineth vs to that which is immortall. The second is the departure out of this life, when the soule is deliuered from the bandes of her bodie. The thirde death is that of which it is written; the soule that sinneth, shall die; this death dieth not onelie the flesh, but the soule also; for it is not the ending of this life, but the running into errour. [k] The first is the life of the soule, and the death of sinne, which is SPIRITVALL; The second is the ceasing of this life which is NATVRALL; the thirde is not onelie sinne but destruction, which is PENALL. Which of these agreeth to Christ, Ambrose himselfe will tell you. [l] *Quid est Christus nisi mors corporis, spiritus vitæ?* What is Christ but the death of the bodie, and the Spirit of life? Then Christ died not the death of the soule, for the spirit of life cannot die, vnlesse you will make life it selfe to bee death. Yea, they which in this worlde die the death of the soule are separated from Christ,

[k] Ibidem.

[l] Ibidem.

Christ, for did they abide in him, they shoulde abide in life; he is [m] the waie, the truth, and (not onelie liuing, but) life it selfe; This testimonie our Sauiour giueth of himselfe, [n] Verilie, verilie I saie vnto you, hee that beleeueth in mee hath eternall life. If they cannot die the death of the soule, which beleeue in Christ, howe much lesse can Christ himselfe die that death? And heere, (Sir Refuter) you broch so grosse and palpable an errour, that women and children will derise you. For if the tormentes of hell and paines of the damned *do alwayes accompany them that are separated from the grace and loue of God*, howe manie hundred thousand thousandes of all sortes, seres, and ages in all kingdomes and countries shoulde bee disturbed, distracted, and confounded in all the powers of their soules and senses of their bodie? where are the [o] riches of Gods bounteousnesse, patience and long suffering which the Apostle so highlie commendeth, as leading vnto repentance? How could Abraham with anie truth saie to the rich man in hell; [p] Sonne remember thou in thy life time receauedst thy good thinges and *Lazarus* paines; where if your position be true, the paines of Lazarus coulde not bee comparable to the tormentes and paines that ALVVAIES ACCOMPANIE the wicked? I assure thee (christian Reader) a man could not with fewer and foolisher wordes then these, more crosse the whole tenor of the scriptures. For the wicked here in this life abound with all wealth, ease, and prosperitie, insomuch that manie of the godlie haue bene and still are offended with it. Reade the 72. Psalme, and see whether these intolerable and horrible feares, sorrowes, paines, and tormentes of hell and the damned, do alwaies accompanie them heere in this life. [q] My feete were almost gone (saith Dauid) when I sawe the peace of the wicked. There are no bands in their death, they are lustie and strong, they are not in trouble, nor plagued with other men, their eies stand out for fatnesse, they haue more then their heart can wish. Lo these are the wicked, yet PROSPER

[m] Iohn. 14.
[n] Iohn. 6.
[o] Rom. 2.
[p] Lucæ. 16.
[q] Psal. 72.

THEY ALVVAIE, and increase in riches. This was too hard for me till I went into the sanctuarie of God, then I vnderstood their ende. So that God [r] with much patience suffereth the vessels of wrath prepared vnto destruction, who according to their harde and impenitent hearts, [f] heape vp wrath vpon themselues against the daie of the declaration of the iust iudgement of God, whose suddaine destruction is then neareſt, when they shal say [t] peace and safety.

[r] Rom. 9

[f] Rom. 2

[t] 1. Thess. 5

And what marueil you crosse the scriptures in confounding the wrath of God to come with the wrath of God present in this life; when you doe not see your owne wordes to be contrarie one to the other? For if Christ died the death of the soule, which is [u] an alienation from the life of God, howe was he neuer separated, but alwaies intirely beloued and most blessed? If hee were neuer separated from the life of God, howe came he to die the death of the soule, which must nedes be a separatiō for the time from God, vnleſſe you can match light and darkenesse, death and life together, and make the one to be the other, and both to cleaue to God himselfe? But what cannot you do, that can make the paines of the damned, and torments of hell the onlie true and perfectlie accepted sacrifice to God? These are your words. [x] *Such a sorrow indeed of a broken and contrite heart is the only true and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God, and is in effect nothing but what we affirme.* You affirme that Christ died the death of the soule, which you interpret to bee such [y] *paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, as alwaies accompany them that are separated from the grace and loue of God*: You affirme that Christ suffered [z] *wonderfull and piteous astonishment, forgetfulnesse and confusion of the powers of nature, euen of* [a] *all the powers of his soule and senses of his bodie*, yea he [b] *felt the verie diuels as the instruments, that wrought the verie effectes of Gods wrath vppon him*; and though the [c] *wicked oftentimes find farre more intolerable horror of their sinnes then any other*, yet you doubt not, but [d] *Christ as touching the vehemencie of paine, was as sharply touched*

[u] Ephes. 2

[x] Page. 68.

[y] Pag. 77.

[z] Pag. 73.

[a] Pag. 53.

[b] Pag. 45.

[c] Pag. 80.

[d] Pag. 81.

ched euen as the Reprobate themselues, yea, *if it may be, more extraordinarily*. All this you affirme, and by your owne words, all this is the ONLY TRVE, *and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God*. So then whosoeuer feeleth not all this, hath no broken nor contrite heart, nor anie longer then hee feeleth these hellish torments in his soule. And if this be the ONLY TRVE sacrifice to God, I will not aske what shall become of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiuing, but howe vnhappie are the godlie that at anie time are free from the paines of the damned, and from the tormentes of hell, since the suffering thereof is the ONLY TRVE and perfectlie accepted sacrifice to God? [c] Godly sorrow, saieth the Apostle, causeth repentance vnto saluation; those wordes please you not; such [f] *hellish sorrowes*, and *intolerable horrors* as the *Reprobate themselues feele*, yea as the *damned doe suffer*, this sate you is the ONIY TRVE *and accepted sacrifice to God*. You must haue other sacrifices, and those accepted, before you come to heauen; or else the Reprobate and damned will bee there as soone as you: God send you his grace, and grant your wits and senses bee not distempered and distracted; you talke so much of hellish paines, and torments executed by diuels, as the *only true sacrifice of a broken and contrite hart*.

[c] 2. Corin. 7

[f] Pag. 45 *in margine*.

The Apostles wordes, whereon you first grounded this odious assertion, haue no such intention, as you imagine. By death Christ conquered him that had power of death that is the Diuel. Aske the simplest childe y is catechised in your charge, if you haue anie, what death Christ died for vs, and hee will answere you out of his Creede, Christ was crucified, deade, and buried; and that is the death which the Scriptures describe and deliuer. [g] I deliuered vnto you (saieth Paul) that which I receiued, how that Christ died for our sinnes, according to the scriptures; what death if wee aske the Apostle, he will answere the death of the Crosse. For [h] I haue preach (saieth he) Christ crucified; and I esteemed not to know any thing among you but Christ Iesus and him crucified. Christ crucified then,

[g] 1 Corin. 15.

[h] 1. Cor. 1
1. Cor. 2.

that is by his death on the crosse, destroied him that had power of death. [Of what death, you aske, hath the diuell power?] as well of the second death which Christ coulde not suffer; as of the first which hee did suffer. [Christ, you will saie, coulde deliuer vs from no death, but from the verie same which he suffered himselfe.] If so you saie, or so would saie, it is no lesse then heresie, or blasphemie. Hee deliuered vs from euerlasting death, which hee neither did, nor coulde suffer. If you saie hee deliuered vs not from euerlasting death, it is open heresie; if you saie Christ suffered euerlasting death, it is blasphemie. Yet hath the diuell power of both deaths, as well temporal as eternall. What power, you aske, hath the diuel of this death which our bodies die? [k] God made not that death, but by the [l] enuy of the Diuell it came into the world. Hee was the first procurer of it by perswading sinne, and still reioiceth in it as the verie gate to hel. [m] I shal goe, (said Ezechiah) to the gate of hell, which was the death of his bodie; that waie the wicked passe to hell. Yea the Apostle calleth the corruption of our bodies the sting of sinne, wherewith the diuell pearced vs; [n] when this corruption hath put on incorruption, ô death where is thy sting?

*Sapient. 1.
[l] Sapi. 2.
[m] Esa. 38
[n] 1. Corin. 15.

For the exposition of the Apostles words, I may either say with [o] S. Austen, *Ipse Dominus mori voluit, vt, quemadmodũ de illo scriptum est, per mortem euacuaret eum qui potestatẽ habebat mortis, id est Diabolum, & liberaret eos qui timore mortis per totam vitam rei erant seruitutis. Hoc Testimonio satis illud monstratur, & mortem istam corporis principe atque authore Diabolo, hoc est ex peccato accidisse, quod ille persuasit. Neq; enim ob aliud potestatem habere mortis verissimè diceretur.* The Lord himselfe would die, that as it is written of him, by death he might destroie him that had power of death, euen the diuell, and deliuer them which for feare of death were all their life long subiect to seruitude. By this testimonie it is sufficientlie prooued that this verie death of our bodies came from the Diuell as the Authour and chiefe dooer thereof; that is from the sinne which hee perswaded:

[o] August. de pecc. merit. & remiss. li. 2. c. 32

swaded. He cannot for any other cause be said to haue power of death, which here is most truly spoken. Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Cyril referre death throughout that sentence to the death of the bodie: In these words (saie they) the Apostle [p] noteth an admirable thing, that whereby the diuel had power, thereby was he ouerthrown. The weapons which were his strength against the world, that is death, by ỹ Christ strooke him. Why trẽble ye? why feare ye death? now death is not terrible, but acceptable as the end of labor and the beginning of rest. [q] Chrysostom hath almost the same words. Cyrill verie often expoundeth death in that place for the death of Christs bodie. [r] The sonne of God was partaker of flesh and bloud, that yeelding his BODY to death, he by nature as God being life it selfe, might quicken it againe: otherwise how had hee abolished the imperie of death, vnlesse he had raised againe his dead BODY. And againe; [r] Because it was aboue mans nature to abolish death, yea rather it was subdued of death, the son of God, that is life, took vnto him mans nature subiect to death, ỹ death as a cruell beast inuading his flesh should cease frõ his tyranny ouer vs, that should thereby be abolished. If by death in the second place we vnderstand the death of body and soule with Fulgentius, I am not against it, this being alwaies remembred, that Christ died no death but the death of the bodie. [t] *Mors filij Dei, quam* SOLA CARNE *suscepit vtramq; in nobis mortẽ, animæ scilicet carnisq; destruxit.* The death which the sonne of God suffered ONLY in his flesh, destroied BOTH DEATHS in vs, as well that of the soule, as that of the body.

[p] Ambros. in Hebr. ca. 2

[q] Chrysost. in Hebr. ca. 2

[r] Cyril de recta fide. lib. 1. ex Hebr. ca. 2

[r] Idem de recta fide lib. 2.

[t] Fulgent de incarnat. & grat. christi. c. 9

The Confuter hauing bestirred himselfe in his special and choise arguments, as thou hast heard (christiã reader) & now drawing to an ende, purposeth like a politicke captaine so to entrench himself, that no force shal fetch him out of his hold. And because words are the weapons that can endanger him; he taketh the readie waie with them, to turne & wind them at his will, and so maketh anie thing to be euerie thing, that nothing should hurt him. The scriptures affirme, that

Christ

Christ crucified is the wisedome and power of God to all that be called, and that we are [u] reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, and our sinnes redeemed, and the [y] diuel destroied by the death of Christ Iesus; as also that hee [y] suffered for vs in the flesh, yea he [z] suffered for our sinnes being put to death in the flesh. And least it should hence bee collected, that Christ died not ꝧ death of the soule; but rather the death of his bodie was a sufficient price for the life of the worlde; the Refuter

[u] Rom. 5.
[x] Hebre. 2.
[y] 1. Peter. 4
[z] 1. Peter. 3.

[a] 1. Peter. 3. undertaketh this place of Saint Peter, that Christ was [a] done to death in the flesh, and thence will proue, that the flesh comprehendeth bodie and soule, and that the soule of Christ [b] DIED *and was crucified* as well as the bodie. Reason or authoritie besides his owne he bringeth none, but out of the hinder part of his head he giueth an obseruation, which, if he saie the worde, must needes prooue sounde and good; and this it is.

[b] *Pag.* 79

[c] *Pag.* 78 "[c] *Whensoeuer in scripture the flesh and the spirit are opposed together, the* [d] *flesh is alwaies Christes whole humanitie, as well* "*his soule as his bodie. From whence it followeth that Christs soule* "*also died and was crucified.* How proue you this note, (Sir Refuter?) had you saide that where soeuer the flesh of Christ liuing is spoken of, there the flesh of a man endued with a humane soule is intended; you had saide well: for Christ was perfect man and perfect God, in one and the same person: but when you will stretch all the attributes of the bodie, and make them common to the soule, because Christ had a soule as well as a bodie, it is no true obseruation deriued from the scripture, but a partiall supposition intended to further your hellish sorrowes. In the 26. of Matthew, when Christ telleth his disciples [e] that the spirit is readie, but the flesh weake, doth hee take spirit there for the godheade, as if that were readie to suffer anie thing, or for the soule which was willing, but that the flesh was weake? In the 24. of Luke when Christ saieth, [f] a spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me haue, had his soule flesh and bones, and those to be seene as his bodie had? To the Romanes when Paul saith,

[c] *Pag.* 79

[e] Matth. 26.

[f] Lucæ. 24

Christ

[g] Christ our Lord was made of the seede of *Dauid* according to the flesh, and declared to be the sonne of God, touching the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the deade; will you conclude that Christes soule was made of the seede of Dauid and came from Dauids loines as Christes flesh did? The like he repeateth in the same Epistle: [h] of the Israelites came Christ according to the flesh, which is God ouer all to be blessed for euer; where if your obseruation faile not, Christes soule must be kinne to the Iewes as well as his flesh. Whie then, when Peter saith, [i] Christ was put to death according to the flesh, but quickned by the spirit, doe you make it so cleere a case that the worde flesh there comprisseth both bodie and soule; and therefore by Peters confession, Christ died in soule as well as in bodie? so when Paul saith; [k] Christ was crucified through infirmitie, yet liueth through the power of God, what leadeth you to imagine, that his soule was crucified as well as his bodie? who did crucifie him I praie you, God or the Iewes? Peter saieth to the Iewes, [l] Iesus of Nazareth, a man approoued of God, after you had taken with wicked hands, you haue CRVCIFIED and slaine. So againe, [m] the holy and iust one ye denied, and killed the Lord of life. And likewise. [n] By the name of Iesus, whom ye haue crucified, whom God raised againe from the deade, doth this man heere stande whole, who before was a creeple. If the Iewes then crucified and killed the Lorde Iesus, coulde they crucifie and kill his soule? Are you so simple that you remember not the wordes of our Sauiour, [o] Feare not them which kill the bodie, but are not able to kill the soule? And you make it not an ouersight; but a positiue point of your holie truth, as you call it, that Christes soule was crucified and died; and consequentlie that the Iewes directlie against the wordes of Christ were able to kill and crucifie the soule of Christ. Will you saie that God crucified the soule of Christ, for what will you not saie, that say Christs soule was crucified & died? in what scripture shall wee reade that God crucified

[g] Rom. 1.
[h] Rom. 9
[i] 1. Pet. 3
[k] 2. Corin. 13
[l] Actes. 2.
[m] Acts, 3.
[n] Acts 4
[o] Matt. 10

the soule, as the Iewes did the bodie of Christ? you would seeme to conclude it out of the scriptures, which whensoeuer they speake of Christ crucified, they note the shamefull and cruel death which the Iewes executed on him, not anie thing that God did vnto him. And out of that word, cuerie where in the scriptures referred to the Iewes, to inferre that God also crucified his soule, is as much madnesse as the former. If you feare not the paines of hell, because you are so well acquainted with them, feare at least the shame of the worlde, least they deride you to scorne, as lacking that common vnderstanding which boies in the streetes, and prentices in the shoppes haue. But what if your selfe, being be like amazed, and (as you saie of Christ) all confounded in all the powers of your soule, and senses of your bodie, when you wrate in defence of your holie cause, do contradict your selfe, and call your owne assertion ABSVRD and MOST FALSE, and that not ten or twelue leaues off, but in the verie same place where you labour to iustifie this position, and proouing and pronouncing it to be absurd and most false, you presently conclude it as a principle of your newe faith? well, if it bee not so, then I must confesse I was a sleepe when I thought you did so. But if it fall out to be true which I saie, I hope (christian Reader) thou wilt thinke my time anie waie better imploied then longer to reason with such a brainsicke babler.

[o] 1. Pet. 3. ver. 18. The words of Peter are; [o] Christ hath once suffered for sinnes, the iust for the vniust, and was put to death in the flesh, but quickned by the spirit. Saint Austen writing vpon this place obserueth this for a sure rule to expounde the whole.

[p] Aug. epist. 99 [p] *In eare quippe viuificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus.* Christ was quickned in that verie part, wherein hee suffered death, or was put to death. This rule hath in it a mightie truth that maie not be resisted. For if anie part of Christ died, which was not againe quickned, but still left dead, then that parte suffered perpetuall death; which is not onelie plainelie

plainelie false but openlie blasphemous. Then must this stande for an vndoubted grounde; that whatsoeuer part of Christ was dead, the same must be quickned againe, to auoid the eternall death of anie part. And if anie part of Christ néeded not quickning or restoring to life, it neuer died; for quickning is heere the restoring of life to that which was dead, and not the giuing of life to that which had none before. Then if Christs soule died, of force it must either be quickned againe, or kept vnder eternal death; but to saie that Christs soule was quickned or made aliue IS ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE: *Ergo* to saie that Christes soule died IS ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE. You will aske me howe I proue the Minor or second parte of this Argument? If Saint Austen did not helpe me to proue it, the Confuter will. Loe (Sir Refuter,) your owne words in the very same place, take care I praie you, that I misrepeat them not, for if I hit thē right, you will proue your selfe as verie a baby as euer suckt a bottle. ¶ BOTH THESE, saie you, ARE ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE, *that Christ was made aliue either in his* HVMANE SOVLE, OR BY THE SAME. See and shame, if there be anie grace, or sense in you, that going about purposelie to proue that Christs soule died and was crucified, you set this for a preface vnto it, *it is* ABSVRD *and most* FALSE *that Christ was made aliue in his humane soule*; which without anie shift or colour, you do saie & must saie, before your conclusion can be true; except you will flie to this, that Christes soule died in deede, but was neuer restored to life, or made aliue againe; which if wee come to, I must proclaime you no longer foolish but blasphemous. Howbeit I hope you will rather see your follie, then fall to this frensie; for my part, I wish you better counsell and more reading; and although you tell me of [r] *errors*, [l] *corrupt fansies and vayne imaginations*, [e] *shameful questiōs*, [u] *toyish fables*, [x] *fond, absurd, without sense or reason*, when I doe but repeat the iudgementes of the ancient and learned Fathers; yet I will beare them at your

[q] *Page.78. linea.25.*

[r] *Pag.1.* [l] *Pag.3.* [e] *Pag.54.* [u] *Pag.81.* [x] *Pag.68.*

your hand, and from my heart doe pittie your ignorance, for I hope it bee but ignorance; howsoeuer you take vpon you to controle all as fond and absurde, that yeelde not to your humour.

For the cleering of this place of Peter, wherein the Confuter hath so much ouerseene himselfe, I stand not vpon the aduantage of his wordes, but vpon the sounde and learned exposition of Saint Austen, whose antiquitie and authoritie concurring with the truth of the scriptures doth please me, & I trust (christian reader) wil content thee. [f] *Christus spiritu viuificatus est, cũ in passione esset carne mortificatus. Quid est enim, quod viuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem Caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus viuificante spiritu resurrexit? Num quod anima fuerat mortificatus Iesus, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere, cum mors anima non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit? Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis, secundum naturam caterarum, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est, quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest; & ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christus viuificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe viuificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus; ergo de carne dictum est. Ipsa enim reuixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua anima recedente. Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundũ solam carnẽ mortuus est, viuificatus autem spiritu quia spiritu operante, etiã ipsa caro viuificata surrexit.* Christ was quickned by the spirit, when in his Passion he was put to death in his flesh. What meaneth it, that he was quickned by the spirit, but that the same flesh, in VVHICH ONLY HE DIED, rose againe by the quickning of the spirit? For that Iesus DIED IN SOVLE, I meane in his humane spirit, VVHO DARE AFFIRME IT, where as the death of the soule is nothing (in this life) but sinne, from which he was wholie free? Surelie the soule of Christ was not onlie immortal by nature, as others are, but neither died by sinne nor was punished by any damnation, which are the two waies how

[f] Aug. epist. 99

how the ſoule maie poſſiblie die. And therefore Chriſt could not bee ſaid to bee quickned in ſoule by the ſpirite: for in that part was hee quickned, in which hee died. Therefore it was ſpoken (by Peter) of Chriſts fleſh. That reuiued when the ſoule returned, becauſe that died, when the ſoule departed. Chriſt then is ſayd to bee done to death in his fleſh, for that hee died ONLY IN HIS FLESH, and to be quickned by the ſpirite, becauſe that verie fleſh roſe againe being quickned by the working of the ſpirite. Theſe learned and ſound concluſions of S. Auſten, are directlie repugnant to your weake and falſe obſeruations, Syr Refuter. Chriſt died in the fleſh (ſaith Peter) that is ſaith Auſten, in THE FLESH ONLY; for the ſoule of Chriſt died not, ſince the death of the ſoule is either ſinne in this life, or damnation in the next, both which were farre from Chriſt. You tell vs that Chriſts ſoule not onlie died, but was alſo crucified; and all the proofe you bring for it, beſides Terence, is that Peter ſaith Chriſt died in the fleſh. Now the fleſh ſaie you, ſignifieth as well the ſoule as the bodie, and ſo Chriſt died in both: but ſuch proofes, if you vſe them often, will proue you to haue a great deale leſſe religion and learning, then you would ſeeme to haue.

What death the Scriptures affirme Chriſt died for vs, if you bee now to ſeeke at theſe yeares, it is pittie your ſhoulders haue beene ſo long troubled with your head. Can there bee fuller, or plainer words then thoſe which the foure Euangeliſts vſe in deſcribing the death, buriall, and reſurrection of the bodie of our Sauiour? Shew but one ſuch word in Scripture or father, that Chriſts ſoule died at the time of his Paſſion, and take the cauſe. [* He layd downe his ſoule vnto death, you will ſaie;] You ſhould haue done well in your pamphlette at leaſt to haue laid that downe for a ſhewe, and not vpon your ſingle word to haue vouched ſo weightie a matter as the death of Chriſts ſoule is; but you muſt be borne with, your wits are often not at home. What is ment by this that Chriſt laid downe or yelded his ſoule

* Eſai. 53.

vnto death, S. Austen largelie disputeth in his 47 treatise vppon S. Iohns Gospell. The effect is, when Christ laid downe his soule vnto death, his bodie died, and not his soule. [a] *Quid fecit Passio, quid fecit mors, nisi corpus ab anima separauit? Si enim mortuus est dominus, immo quia mortuus est Dominus (mortuus est enim pro nobis in cruce) sine dubio caro ipsius expirauit animam. Hoc est ergo ponere animam, quod est mori. Cum ergo exit anima a carne, et remanet caro sine anima, tunc homo ponere animam dicitur. Carni hoc tribue, caro ponit animam suam, & caro iterum sumit eam. Caro ponit animam suam expirando. Ipse Dominus Christus dictus est sola caro. Audeo dicere, et sola caro Christi dictus est Christus. Confiteris illud quod habet fides, in eum Christum te credere, qui crucifixus est & sepultus. Ergo sepultum Christum esse non negas, & tamen sola caro sepulta est. Ergo Christus erat etiam caro sine anima, quia non est sepulta nisi caro. Disce hoc etiam in Apostolicis verbis, Humiliauit semetipsum factus obediens vsque ad mortem. Iam in morte* SOLA CARO *a Iudæis est occisa, & tamen carne occisa Christus occisus est. Ita cum caro animam posuit, Christus animam posuit, & cum caro vt resurgeret animam sumpsit, Christus animam sumpsit.* What did the Passion, what did the death of Christ, but separate his bodie from his soule? If the Lord died for vs, yea rather because indeede the Lord did die for vs: (for hee died for vs on the crosse,) doubtlesse his flesh did breath out his soule. Soe that to laie downe his soule and to die is all one. When the soule departeth from the flesh, & the flesh remaineth without any soule, then a man is said to lay downe his soule. Vnderstād this of the flesh, for the flesh laieth down her soule, & taketh it againe. the flesh laieth down her soule by breathing it forth. The Lord Iesus is called his flesh alone. I dare be bold to auouch it, THE ONLY FLESH of Christ is called Christ. Thou confessest, as it is in thy Creede, that thou beleeuest in that Christ, which was crucified & buried. Then thou acknowledgest Christ to be buried, & yet only his flesh was buried. Therefore flesh without a soule

[a] Augustt. tract. 47. in Iohan.

was

was Christ, because nothing of him but his flesh was buried. Learne the selfe same in the Apostles words, Christ humbled himselfe & was obedient vnto Death. Now in his death ONLY HIS flesh was killed of the Iewes, and yet the flesh being slaine, Christ was slaine. So when the flesh laid downe her soule, Christ laid downe his soule, and when the flesh tooke her soule againe to rise, Christ tooke his soule againe. **To men that do not wilfullie blind themselues these words are cleare enough, and they haue for their warrant the full consent of Scriptures, Councels, & Fathers, for 1400 yeares, without dissenting from it.** [b] Christ suffered for you, (saith Peter) leauing you an ensample that you should follow his steppes, who himselfe bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, that we being dead to sinne, should liue in righteousnes. **Then when Christ died to sin, his body died on the tree, his soul liued in righteousnes: So must we do, for so did he, when he left vs an example how to follow his steppes. Our soules must not die before we can resemble his death; they must liue in righteousnes as he did.** [c] Euery where (saith Paul) we beare about in our bodie the dying of the Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus might also be made manifest in our bodies; **which he thus expounded afterward.** Therefore we faint not, but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is daily renewed. **Then in our bodies we carrie about the death of Christ, who for our example died in his bodie vnto sinne, that we should follow his steppes. And why doubt we hereof, since the same apostle doth in as plain & expresse words, as might be spoken, testifie, that Christ, when** [e] we were enimies, reconciled vs IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH THROVGH DEATH; to make vs holy, and without fault in his sight, grounded and stablished in faith, and not mooued awaie from the hope of the Gospell? **What could the hart of Paul inuent, or his tong vtter more effectuall then this, that Christ** THROVGH DEATH IN THE BODIE OF HIS FLESH reconcileth vs to God and maketh vs holie;

[b] 1 Pet. 2

[c] 2. Cor. 4

[d] Ibid. vers. 16

[e] Colos. 1.

holie, and without fault in his sight? If you can quarrell with these words (Sir Refuter) you maie do what you will with the Scriptures. No words will bind you, that take bodie for soule, life for death, faith for amazed feare, hope for intolerable horror, descending for ascending, and hell for heauen. What is this els but to make a confusion of all Religion, and giue open defiance to the trueth by taking one contrarie for the other? You do not so, you will saie. Leaue so doing and these Questions will soone be determined. I graunt there was alwaies in Christ euidence of faith, assurance of hope, Ioy of loue euen in the midst of his paines on the
f Pag.7. " crosse: and you graunt there was f *not anie the least dimi-*
" *nution in Christ of his faith, patience or obedience to God,*
" neither was Christ so much *as touched with anie wauering,*
" much lesse fearing in his *trust and confidence of Gods loue and*
g Pag.77 " *protection towards him.* How then can the g *horrour* of *Gods*
" *seuere iustice and wrath*, like them that indeed be separated from the grace and loue of God, bee in Christ? Or how can the sorrowes of the damned which are separated from the life of God bee found in Christ? how could Christ suffer h *the same*
h pag.46. " *terrours of Gods wrath and assaults of the Deuill, yea far grea-*
" *ter* then the godlie feele in their consciences, for want of faith, and feare of Gods displeasure? What are these but plaine
i pag 57 " contrarieties? Againe in Christ, you saie, i *was no defect of*
" *grace*; how then could the soule of Christ replenished with the spirite of life, and liuing in all fulnes of grace and trueth, bee dead? can you make one and the same part of Christ both aliue and dead? So likewise if Christ had but k *feared*
k pag.64 " *to bee vtterly forsaken with the hatred of his Father*, that indeed
l Pag.49. " you saie *were desperation, which God forbid.* And yet you doe
m Pag.70. " not doubt but *Christ was as* l *deepelie touched with the* m *vn-*
n Pag 80. " *speakeable horror of Gods* n *seuere wrath due to sinne as the*
o Pag.81 " *Reprobates themselues.* A number of these bogepots you haue made vs; speaking of things which your selfe cannot, or dare not oppresse. Sometimes you would faine affirme

it

it in generall words, and when you come to particulars, you renounce it againe. In the verie case that gaue vs occasion of this rehearsall, when the Apostle saith, we are [r] reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, and explaining himselfe, saith the death that reconciled vs to God. was the death which Christ suffered [q] in the bodie of his flesh; Is it not as cleare as daie light, that the bodilie death of Christ, which he suffered on the crosse, is by the scriptures resolued to bee the sufficient price of our redemption, and meane of our reconciliation to God, except you take the bodie of Christ for the soule of Christ, and the stripes and woundes of his flesh for the paines of hell? [t] Yee were redeemed with the precious bloud of Christ, saieth Peter. Can there bee plainer wordes, that Christes [s] bloud shedde for the remission of our sinnes is the perfect price of our redemption, without the death of the soule, or paines of hell, which you interpose? So likewise, when Peter saieth [x] Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, in that hee [u] suffered once for sinners when hee was put to death in his flesh; are you not forced to peruert these wordes for defence of your fancie, and to take the flesh for bodie and soule, that you maie make the death of Christe to bee common to both? [It is one thing, you will saie, to take the flesh for the whole man, and another to take the bodie for the soule.] I knowe it right well, but the one will not serue your turne without the other. By a part to name or note the whole man, is no newes in the Scriptures; but to ascribe the attributes of one part to the other, because the name of either part is sometimes taken for the whole, that is a generall subuerting of all the trueth of the Scriptures. Saint Austen tolde you euen nowe, that Christes dead flesh is called Christ; will you therefore referre the properties of Christes dead flesh vnto his soule, and not thinke you take the waie to dissolue as well the vnion as communion of two natures in Christ,

[r] Rom.5.
[q] Col.5.
[t] 1.Pet.1.
[s] Mat.26.
[x] 1.Pet.2.
[u] 1.Pet.3.

and of the distinction of two parts in his manhood? The body indeede is more distinguished from the soule, then the name of flesh is, because the vnregenerate part of the soule is in the Scriptures euerie where called flesh; but this hath no place in Christ, by reason no corruption of sinne cleaued vnto his soule, and therefore the name of flesh doeth no where signifie the soule in Christ, as it doeth often in vs; onelie by naming flesh in Christ, the scripture sometimes intendeth, that he disdained not the weakest and baasest part of our nature, when he came to redéeme vs. And so Saint Iohn saith, [x] The worde was made flesh, meaning the true and eternall sonne of God, vouchsafed to take not onelie our reasonable and humane soule vnto him, but euen our vilde and mortall flesh into the vnitie of his person, and so became man, that hee might restore man nowe fallen from God, and perished in his sinnes, to the fauour and life of God againe. But when the Scriptures saie, that Christ died for our sinnes, the auncient fathers and Councels with one consent applie that to the death of Christes bodie on the Crosse, and not to the death of the soule, or to anie paines of hell. And though in the Treatise before I haue cited such as sufficientlie witnesse that doctrine to be sounde and Catholike, yet will I not bee greeued to let thee see (Christian Reader) that there was nothing more commonlie, nor constantlie professed in the Primitiue Church, then the doctrine which I am now forced to defende against the rage and reproch of this slaunderous impugner.

x Iohn. 1.

[z] *Post edita per facta diuinitatis suæ monumenta, reliquum iam erat, vt pro omnibus sacrificium offerret, pro omnibus templum suum mortitradens, quo omnes innoxios & liberos à veteri præuaricatione efficeret, seque declararet mortis victorem. Corpus igitur quod commune cum omnibus habebat naturam (corpus enim humanum & mortale erat) ad similitudinem sui generis mortem excepit; verbum enim quoniam mori non potuit, vtpote immortale*

z Athanasius de incarnat. verbi dei.

immortale, corpus sibi sumpsit, quod mori poterat; illudque vt suũ pro omnibus obtulit, vt ita pro omnibus, omnibus ipse corpore coniunctus, mortem patiens, compesceret eum, qui mortis habebat imperium, hoc est Diabolum, & liberaret eos quotquot formidine mortis per omnem vitam obnoxij erant seruituti. After Christ by his deedes had declared his diuinitie, it remained that hee shoulde OFFER A SACRIFICE FOR ALL, yeelding vnto death the temple (**of his bodie**) for all, thereby to deliuer and discharge all from the olde transgression, and to declare himselfe the conquerour of death. His bodie therefore, which in nature was like all ours (for it was an humane and mortall bodie) died in like maner as bodies doe. For the sonne of God, becausse he could not die being immortall, tooke a bodie vnto him that might die, and offered that as his owne for all men, that so being ioined in bodie to all, and suffering death for all, he might represse him that had power of death, euen the Diuell, and free those, that for feare of death were all their life long subiected to seruitude. Epiphanius **treadeth in the same steppes.**[z] When the sonne of God (**saith he**) would suffer of his owne good will for mankinde, becausse his diuinitie coulde not suffer, beeing of it selfe impassible, hee tooke τὸ ἡμέτερον παθητὸν σῶμα, OVR BODIE THAT MIGHT SVFFER, that therein hee might yeelde to suffer, and admitted our sufferings, his Godhead being present in his flesh, the godhead suffreth not. For he that saith I am life, how can he die? But God remaining impassible συμπάσχει τῇ σαρκὶ, suffereth by his flesh, that his passion may be accounted to his deitie, though it suffered not to the ende our saluation shoulde bee from God. In his flesh was the suffering, least wee should haue a passible God. Which indeede is impassible, imputing that suffering vnto himselfe, according to his free choise, and not of anie necessitie. Ambrose **in like sort.**[a] *Laqueus contritus est, & nos liberati sumus. Non potuit melius conteri laqueus nisi prædam aliquam diabolo demõstrasset, vt dum ille festinaret ad prædam, suis laqueis ligaretur. Quæ potuit esse præda nisi corpus? Oportuit igitur*

[z] Epipha. hæres. 69.

[a] Ambros. in Lucam. lib. 4 de duct. Christi in desertum

tur hoc fraudem Diabolo fieri, vt susciperet corpus dominus Iesus & corpus hoc corruptibile corpus infirmum, vt crucifigeretur ex infirmitate Si enim fuisset corpus spirituale, non dixisset, spiritus promptus est, caro autem infirma. The snare is broken, and we are deliuered. The snare could not bee better broken, then by shewing the diuel some pray, that whiles he hastned to the pray, he might be wrapped in his owne snares. What pray could there be beside the bodie (of man?) It was therefore requisite the diuell should bee thus deceiued, that the Lord Iesus should take a body vnto him, euen this corruptible & weake body of ours, that he might be crucified through infirmitie. Had it beene a spiritual bodie that he tooke, he would neuer haue said, the spirite is readie, but the flesh is weake.[a] The same Christ suffered, and suffered not; died and died not, rose againe and did not rise; because hee raised vp his owne bodie. For that which fell, that rose againe; that which fell not needed not rise. Hee rose then according to the flesh, which being dead did rise againe. Ergo also he died in our nature which he tooke vnto him, and suffered in the body which he tooke, that we might beleeue he tooke a true bodie. **To the vnbeleeuer asking,** Shall I beleeue God in flesh, God borne of a woman, God crucified, whipped, dead, wounded, buried?[b] Austen **answereth,** thy God remaineth vnchangeable; feare not, he perisheth not. Christ was borne of a woman, but in his flesh. Hee was an infant, but in his flesh. Hee sucked, increased, was nourished, and grewe in age, but in his flesh. Wearied he slept, but in his flesh. Hee hungred and thirsted, but in his flesh. He was taken, bound, whipped & mocked: yea he was CRVCIFIED AND KILLED, BVT IN HIS FLESH. Why art thou afraid? The word which was God remaineth for euer. He that despiseth this humblenes of God wil neuer be cured from the deadly swelling of pride. The Lord Iesus therefore by his flesh gaue hope to our flesh. To be borne, and to die were here on earth common, to liue for euer was not here. Christ found here our earthlie wares, which were vilde, and brought with him his heauenlie, which were strange. If thou

[a] Idē. de incarn. sacrament. ca. 5

[b] August. de verbis domini secundum Iohan. serm. 42.

thou feare (his) death, loue (his) resurrection. [c] He came to the place of our pilgrimage to take that which aboundeth here, euē mocks, whippes, blowes, spittings in his face, reproches, hanging, the crosse and death. These things abound in our region, to this entertainment hee came. What hath he giuen thee here? Instruction exhortation, and remission of sinnes. What hath he promised thee O mortall man? that thou shalt liue for euer. Doest thou not beleeue it? Beleeue it, I say, beleeue it. It is more that he hath alreadie done, then that hee hath promised. It is more incredible, that the eternall died, then that the mortall shall liue for euer. If God died for man, shall not man liue with God? But can God die? Hee tooke from thee wherein to die for thee. THERE COVLD NOT DIE BVT FLESH, THERE COVLD NOT DIE BVT A MORTALL BODIE. Hee clothed himselfe with that wherein hee might die for thee; hee will clothe thee, wherin thou shalt liue with him. [d] In that (part) Christ died, in which thou shalt die: in that (part) Christ rose in which thou shalt die. **Thou wilt pardon mee (Christian Reader) if among so much lothsome stuffe of reprobate horrors, damned paines, and hellish torments, as this Confuter hath heaped together, I solace my selfe sometimes with the longer comfort of sounde and sweete doctrine, so sincerelie and sensiblie deliuered by the learned and auncient Fathers. I will alledge one place more wherein thou shalt see the full consent of prouinciall and generall Councels, not to bee gainesaide by anie man that will beare the name of a Christian, and so shutte vp this point.**

[c] Augustin. in psal 148.

[d] Idem in psal 70

Cyrill writing to Nestorius, to stay and suppresse that false doctrine which hee beganne then to spreade; teacheth vs verie plainelie howe the sonne of God is saide in the Scriptures to SVFFER, DIE, AND RISE AGAINE for vs, and our saluation. [e] So wee saie (the sonne of God) suffered and rose againe; not that the sonne of GOD suffered in his owne nature, either the stripes, or the boaring of

[e] Cyril epist. 8 ad Nestorium.

the nailes, or the rest of the woundes, ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι ψιλὰ σῶμα τον, the Deitie coulde not suffer by reason it is no bodilie substance; but because THAT BODIE, which hee made his owne, suffered these things, himselfe is saide to suffer these things for vs. ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι, He that coulde not suffer was then in his bodie which suffered. After the same manner wee thinke of his dying. The sonne of God is by nature immortall, incorruptible, life and the giuer of life; but because the bodie, which was his owne, tasted death for all by the fauour of God, as *Paule* speaketh, hee himselfe is saide to haue suffered death for vs, not that hee had experience of death as touching his owne nature, (it were a madnesse so to thinke, or say) but for that as I saide euen nowe, his flesh tasted death: So his flesh rising againe, it is called his Resurrection, not that hee fell to corruption, God forbidde; but that his bodie rose againe. **When this frayed not the frenzie of Nestorius the heretike, but that hee replied in swelling woordes**, Cyrill **called a Counsell at** Alexandria, **and there with one consent, they approoued the trueth, and sent it vnto** Nestorius **to bee confessed in these woordes amongst others**; [f] If anie man doe not confesse that the Sonne of GOD suffered in his flesh, was crucified in his flesh, and tasted death in his flesh, let him bee accursed. **Dilating this and the rest of their Articles in their Synodall Epistle sent to** Nestorius, **they** saie, [g] Wee confesse that the onelie begotten God, euen the sonne borne of God his father, though hee were impassible in his owne nature, yet suffered hee in his flesh for vs according to the Scriptures; μὴ ἦν ἐν τῷ σαρκωθέντι σώματι, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἀπαθῶς οἰκειούμενος πάθη; and was in his bodie that was crucified, accounting the sufferings of his owne flesh as proper vnto him, though he were without suffering; and by the grace of God tasted death for all, ὑπὲρ παντὸς αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, when he gaue his owne bodie vnto death. **This doctrine came to bee scanned in the third generall Councell holde at** Ephesus,

[f] Synod. Alexand. anathematismus. 12.

[g] Epistola Synodi Alexandrinæ ad Nestorium inter Cyril. epist. 10.

[h]Ephesus, and being there deliberatelie read, was worde for worde allowed of the whole Councell, as agreeable to the Scriptures and the Nicene fathers. The like approbation it had, not onelie in the Councell of Constantinople vnder Fluuianus, but in the great councell of [i]Chalcedon, where the proceedings of both these Councels were a fresh examined, and the former woordes of Cyrill repeated and confirmed, with the ful consent of that general Councel, as most sound and catholike.

[h] Ephesin. concil ii. Sess. 1.

[i] Concil. Chalcedon. act. 1

So that he shall ill deserue the name of a christian, that after so manie fathers, and Councels, both Prouinciall and Generall, will begin to teach vs a new faith, and tell vs that the Scriptures meane Christ was crucified and died, as wel in his soule, as in his bodie; since the whole Church with one assent hath euer so conceiued and expounded the Scriptures, that Christes crucifying and dying must bee referred to his bodie; and consequentlie that the ioynt sufferings of Christ (the soules feeling what the bodie suffered) were most auailable for our redemption. For when they ascribe the crucifying and death of Christ to his bodie; they doe not exclude the soule from the sense and feeling of the paine, which is a naturall consequent to the coniunction with her bodie, but they shew what part of Christs manhoode suffered the crosse and death, that the Scriptures so much speake of, and whereby wee are redeemed and reconciled vnto GOD. One place repeated in the Councell of Ephesus, maie serue in steede of manie, to declare their meaning. [k] Howe can the Creator of all thinges, who is neither visible, palpable, nor mutable, sustaine the Crosse and death? Wee saie the sonne of God sustained the Crosse and death in his owne flesh, that hee might deliuer vs from death and corruption. Hee laide downe his soule for vs, not as an alien and straunger to the sonne of God, but vnspeakeablie vnited vnto him, as himselfe saith; I haue power to lay downe my soule, and I haue power to take it againe.

[k] Interrogatio & respō. in cōcil. Ephesino propositæ.

ΤΑΥΤΗΣ

τούτης ἴδιον τὸ ἀδημονεῖν, τὸ λύπην ὑπομένειν, ἢ ἐκδημεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὥς καὶ σαρκὸς ἢ κοπιᾶν, ἢ σαυρῶσθαι, τὸ ἀνῃρεθῆναι. It is proper to the soule to bee pensiue, to feele paine and griefe, to depart from the bodie; as it is proper to the flesh to be wearied, to be crucified, to be raised againe. So the violence was offered to the bodie, the sense whereof reached vnto the soule; and these are the sufferings of the crosse, and of death, which the Scriptures attribute to the sonne of God for our saluation; Insomuch that your long discourse of the proper and immediate suffering of Christes soule for sinne without and besides the bodie, maie be hanged on the hedge, as discording both from the scriptures, and all the Catholike fathers, that either haue priuatelie testified the truth by their writings, or publiklie confirmed it by their assemblies. And as for your hellish paines, when your selfe can tell what they are, and make some better proofe, then yet you haue done, that they were, or might be in the soule of Christ, you shal receiue further answere.

These are the Refuters exquisite arguments, which he calleth his speciall reasons, being indeede rather so manie monsters in Christian Religion, then matters to perswade anie man were he neuer so simple, and but that a straunge faith muste needes haue such straunge groundes as these bee, I shoulde thinke hee did rather expose this concepte of Hell paines, to bee derided of the worlde, then to bee beleeued, hee euerie where so secondeth his badde cause with woorse proofes; but where better foode wanteth, Akornes are good meate, and blacke Moores maie bee beautifull, when others bee awaie. I woulde heere make an ende of his first parte, but that as his manner is, when hee hath stumbled absurdlie a long while at hell hee stepped on the suddaine as vnhandsomelie to heauen. [1] *Knowe therefore* (saieth hee) *hell, as we take it is euen in this life founde sometime, as heauen is likewise; for as* [m] *touching materiall fire in hell, what a toyish fable*

[1] Pag. 80.

[m] Pag. 81

fable is that? elſe I praie you how may the ſoules of the damned ſuffer by materiall fier, ſeeing they are ſpirits, and therefore with them and fier materiall there can be no communion. But let it bee as it may be; the locall hell of the damned we ſpeake not of. You ſlacke your hell paines (Sir Refuter) towardes the ende, as if all this while you had beene too hot in them; and heere you giue three qualifications to them; or rather contradictions to your former ſpeeches. *Hell as you take it is* SOMETIMES *found in this life.* But two leaues before you tolde vs the [n] *paines and ſufferings of Gods wrath,* which are the hell that you ſaie Chriſt ſuffered, ALVVAIES *accompanie them that are ſeparated from the grace & loue of God;* how commeth ALVVAIES to bee ſo quicklie changed into SOMTIMES? were there fewer wicked when you ſpake the laſt woordes, then when you ſpake the firſt? or are you better aduiſed; remembring what a groſſe abſurditie it woulde bee to caſt all infidels and hypocrits, wicked and diſobedient perſons into hel torments all the time of this life before the iudgment of God taketh hold of them? Secondlie, [o] *as there is heauen euen in this life in ſome meaſure, euen ſo,* ſaie you, *there may be hell.* You doe not meane that here on earth are the verie ſame ioies and bliſſe that are in heauen, nor anie way equall to them; if you did, it were a lewder abſurditie then the former. For here [p] we reioice, that our names are written in heauen; (as the Apoſtle teacheth vs to doe) [q] wee reioice vnder the hope of the glorie of God. [r] Now hope that is ſeene, is not hope. For howe can a man hope for that which hee ſeeth (or poſſeſſeth?) but when we hope for that we ſee not, we doe with patience abide for it. In this life [s] wee walke by faith, not by ſight; and whiles we dwell in the bodie, we are abſent from the Lord. For though [t] we be now the ſonnes of God, it appeareth not as yet what we ſhal be; [u] our life is hid with Chriſt in God; when Chriſt, who is our life ſhall appeare, then ſhall wee alſo appeare with him in glorie. If you therefore affirme of heauen as you do of hell, that the VERIE SAME ioies which are

[n] Pag. 77.
[o] Pag. 80.
[p] Luke. 10
[q] Rom. 5
[r] Rom 8.
[s] 2. Cor. 5
[t] 1. Iohn. 3
[u] Coloſ. 3

in heauen, or EQVALL with them are here sometime found on earth, it is a wicked errour flatlie repugning to the trueth of Gods promises, and to the verie nature of our Christian faith and hope. (For [x] faith is the grounde of thinges hoped for, and the euidence of thinges not yet appearing,) but if you meane that as wee conceaue HOPE of heauenlie blisse, so wee must nedes REIOYCE in it; this position is verie true, but plainelie opposite to your imagination of hell paines. For then must there in this life bee no more felte of hell, but the FEARE thereof, and the griefe arising from that feare; euen as the HOPE of heauen maintaineth our ioye. Nowe in Christ coulde neither the feare of hell possiblie bee founde, nor anie griefe, or sorrowe arising from anie such feare, since there was [y] "in his soule no wante of faith nor hope, *nor y not anie the* "*least diminution* of either, as your selfe confesse; but as the Apostle saieth, [z] FOR THE IOY THAT VVAS SET BEFORE HIM he endured the (paine of the) crosse, and despised the shame. And here you may see by your owne comparison the follie of your owne assertion. For if your hellish [a] "sorrow [a] *be the only true and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God,* (as you saie) and [b] without faith it is impossible to please God; which alwaies hath hope, and consequentlie, [c] the ioie of saluation annexed vnto it, which you call heauen; then can no man please God, or offer anie sacrifice to God, till hee bee both in hell and heauen at one and the same time; and the ioyes of heauen are so coupled with the paines of hell, that none of the faithfull can be in the one without the other, but in both together. And thus haue you brought heauen and hell not onelie to bee euerie where, but by your corrupt conceites to bee alwaies linked together. Lastlie, the fire of hell doeth somewhat trouble you, and therefore you labour vtterly to quench it; and aske, [d] *what a toyish fable is that?* but "good Sir, if you would bring no more fables then I doe, you might haue spared not euerie leafe, but euerie line in this

[x] Hebre. 11.
[y] Pag. 71.
[z] Hebre. 12.
[a] Pag. 68.
[b] Hebre. 11.
[c] Psal. 51.
[d] Pag. 81.

this your vnadui∫ed pamphlet. I ſpake not in my ſermon one word either of materiall, or corporall fire in hell, but I vrged the fire of hel to be a true created fire, and not any metaphoricall flame, as you here dreame: from which ſince the bodie and ſoule of Chriſt were both free, he did not ſuffer the true paines of hell, nor the ſame torments which the damned do in hell; and which wee ſhould haue ſuffered, had wee not beene redeemed.

[c] *This* (you ſaie) *is great iniquity, yea plaine ſophiſtry to amplifie againſt you, and to make your moſt holie truth odious with the people onely by the ambiguitie of the worde hell.* Begin you nowe to finde the ſenſible abſurditie of your miſhapen fancie? if you woulde haue taken the name of hell metaphoricallie for great and exceeding paines, this queſtion had beene ſooner calmed, and our Creede freed from your newe found expoſition. But to father your opinion vpon the creed with more likelihood, where the word hell is properlie taken, (though you now hatch vs a new ſignification of hell out of Socrates,) you then vrged as your ſelfe in this preſent confutation do ſtill vrge, that Chriſt muſt haue the [f] FVL VVAIGHT AND BVRDEN *of our ſinnes laid vpon him, and* [g] *ſuffer thoſe ſorrowes and paines for ſinne,* VVHICH ELSE VVE SHOVLDE; *that his price* VVAS THE SAME *which elſe wee ſhoulde haue payde;* that ſeeing it [h] *was poſſible for him to feele* THE FVLL SMART *of our ſinnes, yea* ALL OVR SMART, *and Gods ſtrict iuſtice ſo required,* IT VVAS SO, AND MVST BE SO; as alſo, *that* [i] *it is not proportionable with iuſtice, that an eaſier* [k] *niſhment ſhould ſatisfie for a greater ſinne, and of all abſurdities the greateſt, that meere men ſhoulde ſuffer more deepelie then Chriſt did;* and therefore, [l] *Chriſt ſuſtained euen the ſenſe of Gods wrath* DVE *to our ſinnes, and had the* [m] VVHOLE CVRSE *of God for ſinne executed on him, that is the* [n] DEATH OF THE SOVLE *and the* [n] TORMENTES *and ſorrowes* DVE TO THE DAMNED. Without anie

[c] Pag. 80.
[f] Pag. 28.
[g] Pag. 34
[h] pag. 37.
[i] pag. 2
[k] pag 48
[l] Pag. 73.
[m] Pag. 40.
[n] Pag 77.

Sophistrie Sir, what is the FVLL BVRDEN of our sinnes, and THE SAME PRICE which we should haue paide, what is OVR FVLL SMART yea ALL OVR SMART, and the VVHOLE CVRSE OF GOD; what is the DEATH of the soule, and the TORMENTS DVE TO THE DAMNED, but those verie things which I by the warrant of Gods word told the people were prepared and threatned to the wicked, and shall bee executed on them in hell, as they should haue bin on vs, if we had not bin redeemed by the blood of Christ? you must recall all your reasons, and vnsaie all these positions before you can auoid that which I obiect. If Christ did, and must by Gods iustice suffer the VVHOLE, the SAME, and ALL that was due to vs for our sinnes; shewe me, good Sir, I praie you (for I confesse it passeth my reach) how you can free him from the darknes, destruction, reprobation, malediction, worme or fire of hel? yea those words, if you looke not well to them, and rebate them in time with some fresh wite, they will carrie with them both the PLACE and PERPETVITY of hell; for both these were DVE to our sinnes, and are parts of Gods CVRSE, and should haue bëene executed on vs, as they shall bee on the damned; and out of ALL, the VVHOLE, and the SAME, how can you except anie, but by an open *Vray dire* of dotage? [° *The local hel of the damned you speake not of.*] Speake of what you will; so long as your assertions, in full and plaine termes inferre and conclude so much; well your words may runne without your wits; but I tell you trulie what is the consequent of them, and leaue those wordes, and then your most holie trueth is left naked without shew or shadow of proofe. For these generals, the VVHOLE, the SAME, and ALL giue life, such as it is, to your childish reasons. Without them you cannot open your mouthe to make one conclusion.

° Pag. 81.

But because hell fire so much crosseth your cause, that you would faine be rid of it, and burneth your fingers so fast, (Sir Refuter,) that you striue to cast water on it; giue mee leaue

leaue a little to let you vnderstand, it flameth more fiercelie, then that you can quench it with the licour of your mouth. And the rather for that in the eares of all men it is a most sensible reproofe of your vnsauorie position. For if Christ suffered not the fire of hell in bodie nor soule, then most apparantlie he suffered not the FVLL burden of our sinnes, nor paid the SAME price which wee should haue paide, nor endured ALL our smart, nor felt the VVHOLE curse of God, nor sustained the tormentes DVE to the DAMNED; and therefore the true kindeling of this fire, is the bitter quenching of your new deuised hell paines. Knowe you therefore (Sir Refuter) that your metaphysicall fire in hell is a phantasticall errour of yours; and you shall doe well to tremble at the terrible iudgement of God threatned in his worde with more religion, then to cast off that fire as a *toyish fable*. I shall not neede to rehearse, how often it is denounced in the Scriptures, and in what vehement and constant manner; let vs learne rather carefullie to shunne the place, then cunninglie to shift the word, which they shall finde to bee no figure, that feele it. [p] A fire (saith God himselfe) is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, it shall eate through the earth, and the depth thereof, and shal inflame the foundations of the hils. [q] Behold, (saith Esay) the Lord wil come with fire, that he may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with the flame of fire, for the Lorde shall iudge with fire. The slaine of the Lorde shall bee manie, their Worme shall not die, neither shal their fire be quenched. Which wordes our Sauiour directlie referreth to hell. [r] It is better to enter into life haulting, then hauing two legs to bee cast into hell, into the fire that neuer shall bee quenched, where their Worme dieth not, and the fire neuer goeth out. [s] If wee sinne willinglie (saieth the Apostle to the Hebrues,) there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a fearefull expectation of iudgement, and raging fire, which shal deuoure the aduersaries. [t] As Sodome and Gomorra and the cities about them.

[p] Deutero. 32.
[q] Esa. 66.
[r] Mark. 9.
[s] Hebre. 10.
[t] Iudæ. epist.

them are set forth for an ensample, and suffer the vengeance of
[u] Apoc.21. eternall fire. [u] The fearefull and vnbeleeuing, the abhominable and murtherers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and Idolaters and all lyars shal haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death; **To whome the Iudge shall saie, when they shall see the truth thereof before their eies,** [x] Depart from mee ye cursed into euerlasting
[x] Matt.25 [y] 2.Thessa.1 fire, prepared for the Diuell and his angels. [y] For the Lord Iesus shall shewe himselfe from heauen with the Angels of his power in flaming fire rendering vengeãce to them which know not God, and obey not the Gospell. **That the fire with which Christ shall appeare to iudge, shall bee corporall and visible to all mens sights can bee no question, it** [z] shall dissolue the
[z] 2.Pet.3. heauens, melt the elements, and burne vp the earth with the workes that are therein, **as Peter affirmeth: and that the wicked shall euerlastinglie burne therein, all the Fathers with**
[a] August. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap.3 **one consent acknowledge.** [a] Ignorance (saith Austen) of such as are not willfully, but simplie ignorant, shall excuse no man from burning in euerlasting fire. For it is not saide without cause: Christ shall come in flaming fire to render vengeance to
[b] Hierony. in 2. Thessa. ca.1 those ỹ know not God. [b] In flaming fire rendering vengeance; this (saieth Ierome) *Paul* speaketh against them because they dreampt of the paine of conscience, and thought this impossible. If the flame by Gods commandement did not so much as touch the three men (**that were cast into it**,) [c] why by the same power shoulde not fire be beleeued to bee
[c] Ambros. in. 2. Thessa. ca.1 sharper to some, and easier to others? [c] Christ shal come (saith Ambrose) with his heauenlie armie, and with fire as his minister to giue vengeance on the Pagans which knewe not God, and the Iewes which beleeued not the gospell of Christ, all which the fire shall burne, that they may bee punished with euerlasting destruction, alwaies feeling it, and neuer failing in it, that the verie paine which consumeth them, may euer renewe
[d] Chrysost. in 2. Thessa. ca.1 them. And so Chrysostome. [d] Thinke on this fire, and thou wilt count the pleasure of sinne to bee no pleasure. If

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the onely sight of a deade man so quaile our hearts, howe much more hell, and the fire which cannot be quenched? because the very remembrance of it is able to drawe vs to do well, therefore God hath appointed the very threatning of it, as an wholesome medicine for our soules.

Your fœueleſſe obiections against these and the like places, that if there be *true fire* in hell, why not a true *worme* as well, and *much wood*? And if this fire were prepared for Diuels that are spirits, what communion hath fire with spirits? these trifles of yours I saie, S. Austen hath long since fullie considered, and learnedlie refuted, and plaulie resolued, that all these toyes notwithstanding, the fire of hell is not onelie a TRVE fire, which were my woꝛds, but a CORPORAL fire that shall punish both men and diuels; at which you so much wonder. [c] *Mitti in gehennam ignis, vbi vermis eorum non moritur, & ignis non extinguitur, non piguit vno loco eadem verba ter dicere. Quem non terreat ista repetitio, & illius pœnæ comminatio tam vehemens ore diuino?* To be cast into hell fire, where their worme dieth not, and the fire quencheth not, Christ did not loath in one place, to repeate the same wordes thrice. Whome woulde not this repetition terrifie, and the threatning of that paine so earnest by Christes owne mouth? Both these, the fire and the worme, such as woulde haue them to belong to the paines of the soule, and not of the body, saie; that fire may be here fitlie taken for burning griefe; as the Apostle speaketh, [f] who is offended, and I burne not? the same kinde of griefe they thinke, may be vnderstood by the worme; for so it is written, [g] As the worme wasteth woode, so doeth griefe the heart of man. On the other side those that doubt not, but in hell the bodie and soule shall be both punished, they affirme the body shall bee afflicted with fire, the soule with a kinde of sorrowe, as it were with a worme. The which though it bee MORE LIKELIE, because it IS ABSVRD, that in hel should want either paine of bodie or of soule; I rather beleeue that both PERTAINE TO THE BODY, then that neither; and that the scripture

[c] Augustin. de ciuitate dei. lib. 21. cap. 9

[f] 2. Corin. 11.

[g] Prouerb. 25

scripture in these wordes suppresseth the griefe of the soule, because it followeth as a consequent, though it be not expressed, that the bodie beeing so tormented, the soule must likewise bee afflicted with an vnfruitfull repentance. For it is written in the bookes of the olde Testament, [h] the vengeance on the flesh of the wicked is fire and worme. Let euerie man choose what best pleaseth him, to attribute fire to the bodie, the worme to the soule, the one properly, the other figuratiuely; or both to the bodie properly. For I haue afore sufficientlie shewed, that certaine creatures liue euen in the fire in burning without consuming, in payne without death, by the marueilous power of the Almightie Creator; which to be possible whosoeuer denieth, knoweth not by whome all wonders are wrought. Let therefore euerie man choose of the twaine, which he liketh best, whether he will referre the worme properlie to the bodie, or to the soule, by a kinde of translation of thinges corporall to spirituall, so that BY NO MEANES HEE THINKE the bodies in hell shall bee such, that they shall not be touched with the paine of fire. [i] Heere riseth another question, if the fire that shall afflict (in hell) bee not incorporall, as the griefe of the soule is, but CORPORALL AND HVRTING VVHERE IT TOVCHETH, that bodies may therein bee tormented, howe the wicked spirits shall bee punished by the same? For the same fire is prouided to punish both men and Diuels as Christ saieth, [k] *Depart from me yee cursed into euerlasting fire prepared for the Diuel and his Angels.* Why should we not say that incorporall spirits may be afflicted by the paine of corporall fire, after a true but a maruailous manner, when as the spirits of men beeing also incorporall, may nowe bee inclosed in the members of their bodies, and shall then bee tied to the bandes of their bodies without dissolution? therefore the spirits of Diuels, or rather the spirits that are Diuels, though they bee incorporall, shall be FASTENED TO CORPORALL FIRE, thereby to be tormented after a strange and vnspeakeable maner: Fastened I saie, to receiue torment from the fire, not to giue

[h] Eccl. 7.

[i] Idem de ciuitate dei lib. 21. cap. 10

[k] Matth. 25.

giue life to the fier. And hell it selfe which is called the lake burning with fire and brimstone, SHALL BE A CORPORAL FIER, and shall torment the bodies of men with their soules, and the diuels that are spirits without bodies feeling paine, but not giuing life to those CORPORALL FIERS. The steps of Austen doth Gregorie followe: [l] Corporall fier to continue needeth corporal nourishment: but contrariwise the fier of hell (which is incorporal) and SHAL CORPORALLY BVRNE the wicked cast into it, is neither kindled with mans industrie, nor fed with wood, but once created remaineth vnquenchable, and needeth no kindling, and wanteth no burning. Therefore the Scriptures, to shew that the reprobate burne within & without, say, they are deuoured with fier, and made as an ouen, that by fier they may bee tormented in their bodies, and by griefe burne in their mindes. And though the word *incorporeus* bée crept here into Gregories text in stead of *Corporeus*, as appeareth by the comparison and words adioyning, (for it were no straunge thing that a metaphorical fier should néede no kindling of man, nor nourishing of wood; & how can an incorporall fier CORPORALLY burne the reprobate, which are the words presently following?) yet to put that out of doubt, his opinion is clére to the contrarie in his Dialogues, where hee saith: [m] That the FIER OF HELL IS CORPORALL, I haue no doubt, in which it is certain bodies shall be tormented. And if the diuell and his angels being incorporall shal be tormented with CORPORALL FIER, what maruell if the soules before they receiue their bodies feele corporall torments?

[l] Greg moral. li. 15 cap. 17.

[m] Idem dialog. lib. 4.

Neither were they the first that made this resolutiõ; that an actuall and sensible fier shal torment the bodies & soules of the damned; the Church of Christ from the beginning beléeued ỹ same. [n] The prophane Philosophers (saith Tertullian) know the difference of this common and that hid fier; so far distant is this which serueth mans vse, frõ ỹ which in Gods iudgement appeareth, whether it flash with thunder from heauen, or break through the earth by the tops of hils. For that consumeth not, what it burneth; but rather repayreth what it eateth, as the

[n] Tertul. in apologetico versus finem.

mountaines euer burning doe ſtill continue, and he that is blaſted from heauen liueth and turneth not to aſhes. This is a teſtimonie of that eternall fier, this is an example of that perpetuall iudgement, which maintaineth puniſhmẽt. The hils burne and dure; how then ſhall the wicked and the enemies of God? Lactantius in like ſort: o The holy Scriptures teach vs how the wicked ſhall be puniſhed. Becauſe they ſinned in their bodies, they ſhall take their fleſh again, that they may be puniſhed in their bodies; yet that fleſh which God will clothe man with, ſhall not bee like this earthly fleſh, but indiſſoluble and remaining for euer, that it may ſuffice for torment, and for euerlaſting fier. The nature of which fier is diuerſe from this which wee vſe about the neceſſaries of this life. For that fier alwaies liueth and burneth of it ſelfe without any nouriſhment. The ſame diuine fier therefore with one and the ſame ſtrength and power ſhall burne and continue the wicked, and ſhall yeeld it ſelfe euerlaſting maintenance, ſo as it ſhall only burne and torment without any decay to the bodie. Cyprian is often and earneſt in this cauſe: p *Cremabit addictos ardens ſemper gehenna, & viuacibus flammis vorax pœna, nec erit vnde habere tormenta vel requiem poſſint aliquando, vel finem:* Hell alwaies burning ſhall broyle them that are adiudged to it, and paine ſhall deuoure them, with continuall flames; neither ſhall their torments haue eaſe or end. And againe, q *Sæuiens locus cui gehenna nomen eſt, eructantibus flammis per horrendam ſpiſſæ caliginis noctem, ſæua ſemper incendia camini fumantis expirat: globus ignium atratus obtruitur, & in varios pœnæ exitus relaxatur:* The cruell place, which is called hell, caſteth vp fearfull fiers, like a burning chimney, the flames breaking through the horrible darknes of y thick miſt; a whole globe of blackiſh fier ſtanding and reſoluing into diuers ſorts of torments. r *Stridorem illum Dentiũ flammæ inextinguibiles agitabunt, immortales miſeri viuẽt inter incendia, & inconſumptibiles flammæ nudã corpus allambent:* Vnquenchable flames ſhall force that gnaſhing of teeth, immortall wretches ſhall liue in the midſt of fier, and flames neuer conſuming ſhall wrap their naked bodies. Hell as Chryſoſtome writeth, hath fier and darknes, but far worſe then theſe which we are acquainted

o Lactant. de diuino præmio li. 7. ca. 21.

p Cyprian. ad Demetrianũ.

q Idem de laude martyrij.

r Idem de aſcenſione chriſti.

quatuted with. [f] For if there be fier (saith he) how is there darkneſſe? thou ſeeſt that fier is more grieuous then this our fier, for it hath no light: if it bee fier, how doth it burne for euer? thou ſeeſt it is worſe then ours, for that is not to be quenched, and therfore is called vnquenchable. Let vs then thinke with our ſelues how great a miſerie it is, to burne for euer, to be in darknes, to make continuall lamentation, and to gnaſh the teeth and not to be regarded? if darknes alone doe ſo terrifie, and trouble our hearts, what ſhall it do when ſuch griefes & flames of fier come with it?

[f] Chryſoſt. in hebre. ca. 1. homilia. 1.

Minutius Felix in his dialogue betwixt an Ethnicke and a Christian, cited by Lactantius in his first booke *De falsa religione cap.* 11. saith: [t] As the lightnings touch mens bodies, but conſume them not; and the flames of the hils Ætna & Veſuuius, and of other parts of the earth do burne & not waſte; ſo that puniſhing fier (inhell) feedeth not vpon the decayes of their bodies that burne, but continueth without eating or waſting their bodies. The ſame compariſon doth Pacianus, ℣ died vnder Theodoſius, make in his exhortation vnto repentance against the Nouatians: [u] *Poſt animarum tẽpeſtiua ſupplicia rediuuis quoque perpetua corporibus pœna ſeruatur:* After the due puniſhment of the ſoules, (of the wicked) a perpetuall torment is prepared for their bodies that ſhall be reſtored to life. The force whereof you may coniecture by the things which are in this world. Ætna, Liſaniculus, and Veſuuius in Campania doe caſt out vnceaſing, flames of fier, and to manifeſt to vs the perpetuitie of that (terrible) iudgement, they ſtill breake & waſte, and yet neuer end. Sibylla whom × Lactantius, × Euſebius, and × Auſten alledge and allow as inſpired by God, deſcribeth the laſt iudgemẽt with theſe words: The earth cleauing ſhall lay open the dungeon of hell; all kings ſhall come before the Tribunall of God, and a flood of fire and brimſtone ſhall fall from heauen (vpon the wicked.) [y] *Chriſtus in ſuo tunc terrore videbitur, eíque ignis iudicij in reproborum vindicta famulabitur, quia videlicet Ignis ille Iudicij, qui cœlum, aerem, & terram concremat, peccatores inuoluit; quos proculdubio in pœna ſuæ damnationis confringit:* Chriſt then ſhall be ſeene in his terror, and the fier of iudgement ſhall ſerue him to reuenge the Reprobate, by rea-

[t] Minutius Felix in Octauio.

[u] Pacianus in paræneſi ad pœnitentiam.

× Lactantius lib. 7. ca. 20.
× Euſebius de vita Conſtant.
× Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei li. 18. ca. 23.
[y] Greg. in Ezechiel homil. 2.

son the very fier of iudgement, which melteth the heauens, the ayre and the earth, wrappeth in sinners, whom doubtlesse it crusheth in the torment of their damnation. [z] Yea, the flame of hell shineth not to the Reprobate for their comfort, and yet giueth light for their punishment; that to the eyes of the damned though the fier of their torment shine with no brightnes, yet it sheweth for their further griefe in what sort they are punished. How thinke you Sir Refuter, is it a TOYISH FABLE worthy of such contempt as you make it, or a point of Christian doctrine deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles, and receiued by the Fathers in all ages in Christs Church, that the FIRE of hell shalbe VISIBLE and SENSIBLE to the bodies of the wicked, and shall ETERNALLY and CORPORALLY punish the damned according to their deserts without quenching it selfe, or consuming thē? And your foolish Philosophie that things corporall cannot worke vpon things spiritual, must giue place to the power and will of the Almightie; by whose appointment wee see in this life nothing more common, thē that the soule which is spirituall, suffereth from her bodie all kindes of paines; and therefore it is as easie for God to make the soule feele fier in the next life without the bodie, as with the bodie; whose power if it please you to impugne, you must leaue the name of a Christian, and get you some other profession. So then the paines which the damned feele, besides the griefe of heauen lost, is FLAMING FIER intolerably tormenting both bodie and soule; and as [a] Cyprian obserueth; *Omni tormento atrocius desperatio condemnatos affliget:* Desperation, which shall afflict the condemned worse then al their torments. To these if you subiect the Sonne of God, you know what will follow; from these if you frē him, as you nēdes must, then is the Question at an end: for in euery mans sight, Christ did not suffer the paines of hell, nor the torments of the damned, which the scripture maketh to be these, & not those which you can neither expresse nor proue.

Frō slender reasons you come (Sir Refuter) to slenderer authorities; and though you quote but few, and not one of them

z Idem moral. li. 9. ca. 39.

a De ascensione Christi.

them speaking one word to your purpose, yet before you produce them, you chalenge them as vnsufficient to testifie in this, or any cause against your liking. For where they may not be iudges, nor with you so much as witnesses of the Scriptures sense, (you so reiect their expositions euerie where with pride & disdaine) yet you in your wisedome take vpon you to build vpon the words of the holy Ghost, what absurdities and follies you list; and your best reason is, *it were fond to thinke otherwise:* but be more sober, if you will be ruled by me; it is the way to hazard your own wits, & not their credits, to entertaine thē in this maner. [They speake not plainly, nor fully you say, because it was neuer in question in their time.] Touching the redemption of man by the death & blood of Christ Iesus, they speake as plainly and fully as it is possible for men to speake; and kepe exactly the forme of wholesome doctrine deliuered in the Scriptures; touching your hell paines they say nothing in deed, because it was neuer heard of in ỹ Church of Christ in their times; but that Christ died NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE; and by the ONLY DEATH OF HIS BODY, and shedding of his blood sufficiently ransomed & redemed vs, this cannot be spoken in plainer and exacter terms, then they haue proposed it and proued it. And therfore you and others shal doe well not to make al the ancient & learned lights of Christs Church so ignorant in their Creed & Catechisme, as not to know, how they were saued by ỹ Crosse & death of Christ, before your hellish paines of the damned were of late deuised. Your better sitting of this matter, is the open wresting and forcing of the scriptures against their true, proper and perpetual sense, to serue your strange conceits. And as you do with the scriptures, you must be suffered to do with the Fathers which you produce, that is; to put thē quite from their own meaning, & frame their words to your fancies, before any man can tell to what end you cite them.

The first word you quote out of Ierom, you falsifie by putting *maledictum* to it, where Ierom doth not so, but simply saith, VVHAT VVE should haue suffered for our sinnes,

that he suffered for vs. The very next words that are his owne, (for he interposeth a place of Scripture, that in his flesh Christ dissolued our enmitie with God, and healed vs with his stripes) are these. [a] *Ex quo perspicuum est, sicut corpus flagellatum & laceratum, ita animam verè doluisse pro nobis.* Whereby it is euident, that as his bodie was whipped and torne, so his soule truely sorrowed for vs. Here you must be permitted to adde of your owne, besides Ieroms meaning, that this sorrow was your hellish sorrow, or else I cannot see why you cited Ierom, except it were to falsifie him. But how, and why Christ sorrowed for vs, when Ieroms owne words were alleaged by me, your answer was; this [b] *is more fond and absurd than the other.* Cyprians words you neither vnderstand, nor like; he saith that Christ [c] taking our person and cause vpon him sayd in our names, that he was forsaken: *Quod pro eis voluisti intelligi qui deseri à Deo propter peccata meruerant, quorum reconciliationis causam agebas*, which he would haue to be vnderstoode of vs (or for vs) who deserued by our sinnes to be forsaken of God, whose reconciliation he then vndertooke. So S. Austen expounded those words of Christ, My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me? [d] *Illa vox membrorum ipsius vox erat, non capitis*, that voyce was the voice of his members, and not of the head; but you could not endure either Austen or any other father so to say, without controlement. [But Cyprian saith Christ endured like punishment to those that be sinners & accursed.] In part, not in all; otherwise he must haue suffered eternall death of bodie and soule: and therefore expounding himselfe in the next sentence, he saith, [e] *In tantum infirmis compateris, vt nec crucifigi, nec mori, dum illi viuant & non pereant, nec erubescas nec formides.* So far didst thou suffer with the weake, that thou didst neither shame to be crucified, nor feare to dye, so they might liue and not perish. Ambrose saith; With the sorrow of his soule Christ abolished the sorrow of our soules; Here you must haue leaue to bring in your hellish sorrowes against Ambroses minde, or else this is but lost labour: the causes of Christs heauines and sorrow when I repeated out of this very

a Hierony. in Esa. ca. 53.

b Pag 68.

c Cyprian. de passione christi.

d August. in Psal. 21.

e Cyprian. Ibidem.

very place of Ambrose, you reiected them as [f]*fond and false*, and now with the bare name of sorrow you thinke Ambrose dreamt of your hell paines. For shame reade out the chapter, and leaue these mistakings. [f] Pag. 67.

[But [*] Ambrose saith, the man (in Christ) now readie to die, by the separation of the Diuinitie, cried, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.] A man dieth when his soule leaueth his body. Christ therefore readie to die the death of the body, which was left of ȳ deitie vnto death, by withdrawing it selfe for a time, vttered these words. Death of the soule, or derelication vnto hell paines, there are none to be found in Ambrose, nor any words sounding that way, vnlesse you peruert them at your pleasure. The words next going before are these: [g]*Gloriosa Dei professio, vsque ad mortem se pro nostris descendisse peccatis, vel euidens manifestatio contestantis Dei secessionem Diuinitatis &* CORPORIS. It was a glorious profession of God, that he descended euen vnto death for our sins; or an euident manifestation of God witnessing the departure of his Diuinitie from HIS BODIE, (when it dyed.) The next words of Ambrose why you alleage I doe not see, but to make vp the number, which is very smale, and lesse forcible. Who doubteth but Christ offered that, which he put on? He put on his body, & this body he offered. S. Paul will tell what Christ offered. [h] We are sanctified by the offering of the bodie of Iesus Christ once made. Your own author Saint Ambrose writing vpon these words alleaged by Paul, [i] thou hast fitted me a bodie, saith; *Hoc ex persona dicitur eius, qui* CORPVS SVSCEPIT *nostræ mortalitatis, vt pro nobis haberet quod offerret.* This is spoken in his person, who put on our MORTALL BODIE, that he might haue what to offer for vs. [k] *Vna quippe oblatio corporis Christi perfectos facit sanctificatos quæ remissionem integram facit peccatorum.* The one OBLATION OF THE BODIE OF CHRIST maketh perfect, such as be sanctified, and giueth full remission of sinnes. If you thinke Ambrose mistake the matter; heare Athanasius. [l] *A nobis simili corpore mutuato, eo quod omnes mortis corruptioni obnoxij essemus, pro omnibus* ID IPSVM *in mortem deditum patri suo*

[*] In Luc. ca. 23. de commendatione spiritus.

[g] Ambros. ibidem.

[h] Hebre. 10.

[i] Ambros. in Hebre. ca. 10.

[k] Ibidem.

[l] Athanas. de incarnatione verbi Dei.

SACRI-

SACRIFICAVIT, *vt homines à morte ad vitam* CORPORE *suo, quod proprium sibi fecit, renocaret.* IMMOLATIONE *enim* SVI CORPORIS *& legi nobis infestæ finem posuit, & primordium vitæ nobis renouauit spe resurrectionis nobis datæ.* The son of God BORROWING FROM VS A BODIE LIKE OVRS, because we all were subiect to the corruption of Death did SACRIFICE THE SAME to his father by yeelding it vp vnto Death, that BY THE BODY which he made his own, he might recall men from Death to life. For by the OFFERING OF HIS BODIE, he ended the lawe that oppressed vs, and renewed the beginning of life vnto vs, giuing vs hope of Resurrection. Cyrill with the whole Synode of Alexandria, which I mentioned before, wrote thus to Nestorius, [m] Christ is made the mediator of God and man, and a reconciler of peace, offering himselfe to God, & to his father as a sweet smelling sacrifice, for he OFFERED HIS OVVN BODIE FOR VS, to bee a sweete sauour. But of the true sacrifice for sinne, which Christ offered, I haue spoken enough before, as well in this conclusion, as in the Treatise. It must haue the BODIE, the BLOOD, and the DEATH of the offerer: none of which agree to the soule of Christ, though the bodie without a soule could be no reasonable sacrifice; & therefore I exclude not the soule whose obedience, innocence, & patience concurred to sanctifie this sacrifice; but I note the parts of the sacrifice for sin by the Apostles doctrine were those, which I named, the blood and death of the Sacrificer; both which must néeds be found in his body and not in his soule.

m Epistola Synodi Alexandrinæ ad Nestorium.

From Ambrose you roue to Tertullia, & there you find that which I neuer doubted of. [n] The Son suffered, forsaké of his father. *Hæc vox est animæ & corporis, id est hominis.* This was the voice of soule & bodie, that is of man. Did you think the body could speak without the soule, before you read in Tertullian that this was the voice of both? If you did, you were deeply learned; if you did not, why doe you bring it as a matter worth the hearing, that bodie and soule ioyned in speaking? But you help it ouer ỹ stile with a false translatiõ, & where Tertullian saith, this was the voice of soule & flesh, you english it

n Tertullian contra Praxeam.

it, ° *this is meant of the flesh and of the soule*, to wit, as you expounde it, that both soule and bodie died forsaken of God. Take back, Sir Refuter, your false and vnsauerie glozes that corrupt the text, Tertullian neuer heard, nor thought of the death of Christs soule, nor of anie such forsaking, as you imagine; hee expoundeth himselfe without your additions, in the verie same place, plaine enough. ° 30

P *Denique posuit spiritum, & statim obijt. Spiritu enim manente in carne, caro omnino mori non potest. Ita relinqui a patre fuit mori filio; filius ingitur & moritur, & resuscitatur. Dicendo denique Christus mortuus est, id quod victum est mortuum ostendit, id est, carnem,* Christ laid aside his spirit, and PRESENTLY DIED. For his spirit remaining in his flesh, the FLESH by no meanes coulde DIE. So to be forsaken of the father, was for the sonne TO DIE. The sonne therefore died and was raised againe. Then in saying Christ died, (*Paul*) shewed that died which was annointed, euen the flesh of Christ. Of the death of Christes flesh Tertullian speaketh, which hee saith, could not possiblie bee, so long as Christes soule remained in his bodie. Christ then died no death of the soule whiles he liued, and breathed on the crosse; but the death which hee died was the laying aside of his soule, and leauing his bodie vnto death. You ende with Cyril that q Christ made his flesh a Redemption for our flesh, and his soule a Redemption for our soules. Cyril meaneth nothing lesse then that, which you would implie, that with the death of either part in himselfe, Christ redeemed each part in vs; But Cyril knowing that Christ in his sufferings on the crosse ioyned both partes together, the one to receaue the violence and rage of the wicked, which was his bodie; the other to feele & endure the smart thereof with all obedience patiēce, which was his soule; saith truly that Christ ioyning both soule and bodie in suffering for vs, redeemed both soule and bodie in sauing vs; which wee acknowledge to bee true without exception. For had not the soule of Christ beene partner, yea chiefe patient in those bodilie sufferinges of

P Tertullian aduersus Praxeam in eodem loco.

q Cyril de recta fide ad Theodosium.

Christ, they could not haue profited vs; neither doe we at anie time otherwise speake or thinke of Christs sufferings, but that the bodie was the instrument wherby the soule of Christ did admit and feele all those paines, wrongs, shames, wounds and what soeuer he endured on the crosse, or before at their hands, which put him to death. But these paines and sorrowes of Christs soule, you saie, MAKE NOT TO OVR REDEMPTION, and vnlesse the soule properlie and immediatlie (not from, or by her bodie) feele hellish paines and sorrowes, such as the damned doe, you make no reckning of all that Christ otherwise suffered. And this is your error which you shrowde vnder the name of a most holie trueth, where indeede, if it be vrged & followed, as you beginne, it will fall out to be a most hainous contemning of all that Christ suffered for vs; and a dangerous substituting of other deuises, which Christ neither did nor could suffer, as you propose them.

You end, Sir Refuter, as you beganne with egregi-
" ons lyes, that [1] *not the most or the best*, BVT ALL AND EVE- [1] Pag. 87.
" RY ONE, *both churches and writers in the world, that are pro-*
" *testants, teach as you doe, and that your* [2] *doctrine is publikly au-* [2] Pag. 89.
" *thorized by the lawes of this Realme*, as appeareth by the booke of Homilies, where it is said, that *Christ put himselfe betweene*
" *Gods deserued wrath and our sinne*. But (Syr confuter) if you haue this propertie of Mydas, that you can turne all Fathers, Churches, writers, and lawes with touching them, to be of your opinion, you must haue Mydas eares too; vnlesse you looke better about you. Such an insolent and impudent speach would well become an ale-house, where no mã should heare you, but in the face of the world to bray after this sort is tolerable in no man, but in you, that neither know what you say, nor see what you should proue, nor vnderstãd what maketh with you or against you. For no sooner reade in any mã new or olde mention of Gods wrath, or of death, but you straight fansy that he meaneth your hel paines, & the death of the

the soule; and so you play with the homilies allowed by the lawes of this Realme. Where because you find that Christ interposed himselfe betweene the wrath of God & vs, to auert it from vs, you forthwith resolue, the Homilies teach your doctrine. But awake, Sir Refuter, and you shall see great difference betwixt the doctrine taught in the booke of Homilies, and publikely approued by the lawes of this Realme, & your frenzies; that Christ DIED the DEATH of the SOVLE; that the VVHOLE CVRSE of God was executed on Christ; that he was by our sins *defiled, sinful, hateful, & accursed; that all the powers of his soule & senses of his body were ouerwhelmed, distracted, and all confounded, that he felt the verie Diuels to be instruments, executing the wrath of God vpon him, that the sufferings of Christs soule, by Sympathie* as you call it, (that is from and by the body) *make not to our redemption; that Christs soule died and was crucified, where it is absurd and most false to say Christ was made alive ether in his humane soule, or by the same;* these and an hundred such absurdities and impieties haue no allowance in the bookes of Homilies, nor any thing sounding towards your hellish paines of the damned. The doctrine there taught is sound, true and plaine, that we are redeemed by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus; that such was the iust displeasure of God against our sinnes, that though he were his owne son, that vndertooke the cause for vs, the iustice of God pursued him with most painfull smart and anguish euen vnto death; and forced the weaknesse of his humane flesh to crie, my God, my God why hast thou forsaken mee. But you content not your selfe with this; you must haue him suffer the verie paines of the damned in Hell, or nothing. His bodilie death were it neuer so paynefull and sharpe, you make light account of; *the theeues crucified with Christ, suffered, you say, as great bodily violence as he did; yea wicked & vngodly men indure with boldnes & great ioy far more exquisite & barbarous tormēts & sharper tortures, as touching the body, then Christ could endure;* (f Pag. 51

[t] Pag 51 "endure, and therefore in plaine words you saie, [t] *such follie in the sonne of God, beest farre from y u once to imagine, as that he should staggar, shrink or faile for any corporal tormentes whatsoeuer*, forgetting what Ambrose writeth; [u] *Neque enim habent fortitudinis laudem, qui stuporem magis vulnerum tulerunt, quã dolorem:* it can haue no praise of fortitude to be desperately confirmed, rather then patientlie subiected vnto paine of torments. And what Austē confesseth, [x] *Nihil erat tunc* IN CARNE INTOLERABILIVS, there was nothing more intolerable in the flesh then the crosse of Christ; as likewise what Bernarde resolueth [y] *Nec aliquo modo dubitandum, quin infirmitatem & exterminationem corporis incomparabilem sustinuerit*; it must not be doubted, but Christ suffered incomparable weakenes and torment of body. For this if you did graunt, it were to be tolerated; for that which no father euer testified, nor scripture euer affirmed, when you shew your selfe so eager; you betray your humor, you benefit not your cause.

[u] Ambros. in Lucæ ca. 22 de Tristitia Christi.

[x] Aug. tractat. in Iohan. 36.

[y] Bernard. de passione Christi. cap. 5

Thou hast heard christian Reader, what things I haue misliked in the first part of this opponents pamphlet; but nothing more then this, that he wasteth so manie wordes, and neither expresseth what hee meaneth, nor proueth what hee pretendeth. All that he hath saide is this in effect; Christ suffered in soule the wrath and curse of God for our sinne, or due to sinne; but these are so generall termes that in parte they bee true, in parte they bee false, and therefore hee that walketh in these cloudes, and descendeth not to particulars, meaneth to hide his heade vnder the Couert of these generalities when needs is; and out of these to fashion to himselfe such assertions as please best his humour. The waie to come by a trueth, is to specifie the partes of Gods wrath and curse, which they suppose Christ suffered, and then shall wee in fewe wordes trie whether those sufferings accord with the rules and groundes of the scriptures, or no. And this I foretell, because if hee or anie other for him bee disposed to reuiue his cause, hee must not bring

bring a sacke full of words for so waighty matters; but plainly and particularly declaring what he holdeth, and proving what he affirmeth, go directly to the point, and then by Gods grace we shall soone trie where truth standeth. But if anie man will draw the grounde of our redemption to generall and ambiguous termes, which shall still increase contention to noe purpose; I meane not to repell words with words; till they answere these proofes, I will not trouble my selfe with their emptie phrases.

In the second Question of Christs descent to hell, I shall not hold thee long (gentle reader) because this babler forgetting what I sayd, concerning the prose and purpose of Christs descent to hell, runneth a new course to Pagans and Poets for help, to expound that article of our Creede; and there presumeth himselfe to be so strong, that of the rest he doth prate without reason or remembrance. The end of Christs descent to hell, I noted out of Athanasius, Fulgentius and others, and proued their speach conformable to the Scriptures; the places thou hast in the latter part of the treatise, I meane not to increase this close with needlesse repetitions. The Cõfuter, belike distracted and distempered with the cogitation and confusion of his hell paines, vtterly mistaketh or forgetteth the whole. He supposeth Christs descent to hell had none other purpose, but [2] *to triumph and insult vpon the thrice miserable and wofull wretches in their present vnspeakeable damnation, infinitely confounded alreadie, & inferreth; Sure a verie sorie triumph this were for the sonne of God which euen among men were nothing but dishonorable*; but if his braines be so brickle, that he can neither conceaue, nor carrie awaie what I sayd; I must not beate it into his head: that I then preached, is here now printed, let him resell it if hee can. Soe when I made the subduing of hell and treading on Satan with all the power of darknesse, a chiefe part of the glorie of Christs resurrection, this scorner in his foolish conceite mocketh at it, and saith [3] *a worthie priuiledge*

[2] Pag. 64.

[3] Pag. 50.

" *priuiledge surelie, and verie honorable. All men would thinke it*
" *a greater honour neuer to haue come in hell at all. For his actuall*
Pag.156. " *triumphing in hell all the world knoweth, is the most inglorious*
" *and vilest debasing.* In sadnes (Syr refuter) if these be your best exceptions against Christs triumphing ouer hell, all the world will know, that you are a worthie man, to weare a wodden dagger. The Apostle made it a part of Christs high exaltation, [b] that euerie knee, as well of things vnder the earth, as of things in heauen, should bow vnto him, and euerie toong confesse that Iesus Christ is the Lord; and do you thinke it a meete matter to be mocked and derided? Paul saith; Christ spoyled principalities and powers (of hell & darknes) and made a shew of them openlie, and triumphed ouer them in his owne person, (for so I must reade till you shew me better authoritie against it, then I haue brought for it;) & your selfe both see and
[b] Philip.2.
Coloss.2.
[c] Pag.156. " *sate, that* [c] *whyles Christ suffered and whyles he died, it was a mi-*
[d] Pag.159. " *serable triumph, yea* [d] *a piteous triumph it was indeede, where*
[e] pag.156. " *himselfe remayned in such woful tormets, where appeared no shew*
" *of conquest, but rather of being conquered; &* [e] *still he suffered til he*
gaue vp the ghost. What letteth them I praie you, since these words were not verified on the Crosse, but they did take place in his resurrection, as I teach; and therein as by the effects it was most euident and apparant to the eies of all men, he did spoyle powers and principalities, & made a shew of them openly, and triumphed ouer them in his owne person? Doth the holy ghost attribute this as a great honour to the humane nature of Christ, that [f] ascending on high he led captiuitie captiue, and doe you make a merriment of it, appealing to the whole world for their censure on your side?
[f] Ephes.4.
" Your strongest fort is this; [g] *There can bee no commoditie*
[g] pag.163 " *nor benefit to the godlie by it. For what good is there so much*
" *as pretended? The generall redemption of all Gods elect and*
" *chosen people was wrought and fullie finished on the Crosse.* [h]
[h] Pag.164. " *what could his going downe to hell adde more?* Is the subduing of hell

hell powers, and the treading on all their force, and the restraining of all their furie, so small a matter with you, that it doth no good to the godlie? Hee hath triumphed and spoyled them to free vs from feare; and hath taken the [i] keyes of death and of hell, into his owne hands; to shew that all power is giuen him in heauen, earth, & hell, and that he can restrayne and [k] bind Satan at his will and pleasure. Is the performance and assurance of these things no cõmodity nor benefit to the godlie? [*The redemption of Gods elect, was* (you say) *fully finished on the Crosse.*] Deserued and obtained it was on the Crosse, and by the crosse, but not there executed. There were our sinnes pardoned, and our selues reconciled to God; but as Christ died for our sinnes, so he rose for our iustification. His resurrectiõ in that glorious manner, which I haue mentioned in the treatise, & his ascension are necessary parts of our Saluation; and therefore vse not the force of Christs crosse to exclude, but to induce the rest. For so doth the Apostle when he saith.[l] Christ humbled himselfe, & became obedient vnto ý death of the crosse. Wherfore (that is euen for that his humility & obedience) God hath highly exalted him & giuen him a name aboue euerie name; that at the name of Iesus should euery knee bow of things in heauen, in earth, & vnder the earth. So that his descending, rising, and ascending added nothing to the force of his death, but shewed the fruite thereof; and tend all to our good, since wee are presentlie secured from the power of hell and Satan, and shall be certainelie raysed and receaued to glorie. Christes death without his resurrection and ascension had beene our confusion, and no redemption; for if sinne had slaine him without rising, it must nedes haue damned vs without hoping: now in his Resurrection as euery Enemie was most mighty, so was there most nedbe should be subdued. But hereof I haue spoken so largelie before that I shall not nede to rehearse it againe; with turning the

[i] Reuel. 1.

[k] Reuel. 20.

[l] Philip. 2.

page

page it maie soone bee seene.

m Pag. 148. " [But m *The Scriptures* (you tell vs,) *are cleare-*
" *ly against Christs going to Hell. For this daie* (sayd Christ
o Page. 150. " to the theefe) *thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise.* " *All*
" *this must needes be of his humane soule verelie without all questi-*
" *on. There is none can consider herein his Deitie. If anie thinke*
" *his soule might goe to hell first, and presentlie goe thence to hea-*
" *uen yer night also, that is ridiculous and toyish.*] You haue so manie toyes in your head, Syr Refuter, that a coloured cap would well become it: when you come to a non plus in your proofes, then you crie, this is ridiculous and toyish. Go like your selfe, and looke to the ridiculous toyes that you bring vs in euery page almost. You would prouue, forsooth, that the SCRIPTVRES ARE CLEARE against Christs being in hell at anie time betweene his death, and his Resurrection; & for your warrant you bring his words to the theefe on the crosse; this daie thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise; and at his death when he sayd; Father into thy hands *I* commend my spirite: And when the places conclude no such thing as you would haue them, nor anie thing neere it; then you helpe it
p Pag. 152. " with outcries, and saie; p *There is no man of sense considering*
" *these circumstances that can iudge otherwise.* But will your wisdome remember that S. Austen in his 57. Epistle discussing this place of purpose, to day thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise; saith the word MEE maie verie readily and easily bee referred to Christs Godhead, promising the theefe Paradise that present daie; and all the childish amplifications that you haue brought vs to the contrarie, are not worth a nut-shell to conteruaile S. Austens iudgement. But graunt it were ment of Christs soule; are you so perfect in the length of the waie from hell to Paradise, and the swiftnes of Christs soule in going to both, that you be sure he could not do both that daie? You thinke belike Christ would not goe thither, but to view the deuils one by one, and call their names to see who were absent. You haue forgotten

gotten that [p] with his presence, or with his word whiles hee liued here on earth, hee could torment the diuels, and therefore if it pleased him but to shewe himselfe, who hee was, whom they had so despitefullie pursued by the handes and tongues of the wicked on the Crosse; all hell must one-lie bende and bowe vnto him, but feare and fall before him. Againe, what coulde hinder though he did not descende that date which hee died, but hee might so doe the date that hee rose; and euen when hee was to rise to loose all the strength of hell before him, and to let Satan see that his kingdome was ouerthrowne by that death, at which hee so much insulted and reioyced? The time I doe not determine, though I thinke it pertained rather to the glorie of his resurrection, then otherwise; as I haue in the treatise more at large expressed. [p] Luke 8

[Was not his soule, you will aske IN HIS Fathers handes, till the time of his Resurrection?] Who doubteth that? As if to subdue hell with the glorie of his presence did not proue the hande of GOD to bee rather mightilie with him, then anie waie to leaue him, and that to bee true, which was forespoken by Dauid in his person, [q] Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell? [The handes of God, you thinke, signifie heere his ioyfull presence, and the possession of heauen.] Who tolde you so? Was Dauid dying when hee saide; [r] Into thine handes I commende my spirite, thou hast redeemed mee Lord God of truth? Was Sion not on earth but in heauen, when the Prophet saith of her; [t] Thou shalt bee a crowne of glorie in the hand of the Lord, and a royall Diademe in the hande of thy God, it shall no more bee saide to thy land, Desolate, for thy land shall haue an husbande? Was the king of Iudah then in heauen, when God saide of him, [t] Though Coniah the sonne of Iehoiakim king of Iudah were the Signet of my right hand, yet would I plucke thee thence? Gods hand signifieth his power, and protection; and could there [q] Psal. 16. [r] Psal. 31. [t] Esai. 62. [t] Iere. 22.

greater fauour, power, or preferment bee shewed to the soule of Christ, then for God in raising him from the dead, not onelie to treade death, but euen hell and Satan vnder his feete? Call you this a most inglorious and vile debasing, for the humane nature of Christ, to haue all power in heauen, and earth, (in which Hell also must bee compriſed,) to bee deliuered vnto him; and to bee made Lorde ouer all, not onelie men, and Angels, but euen enemies and diuels? From this honour and power, whereof it is

[a] 1.Cor.15. saide; [a]Thou hast subiected all things vnder his feete; maie no creature in heauen, nor in hell be excepted? And therefore if this bee a vile debasement, I knowe not what glorie meaneth. The purpose then of Christes descent to hell, giueth honour to him ouer all his enemies, and comfort to vs against the power and terrour of hell, which wee see

[b] Ephes.5. dissolued and spoyled by our heade in our names, and for our sakes; for so much as beeing ioyned to him as [b]members of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones, hell hath nowe no more right to vs then to him; since it is not possible but the heade muste bee where the members are: And Christ himselfe [y] hungreth, and thirsteth, and is naked, and sicke, imprisoned, and persecuted, in euerie one of

[y] Mat.25. Acts 9. his members, euen in the baseſt and lowest of them; and this no more impeacheth the all sufficient merite of Christes Crosse, then his resurrection from the dead doeth the third daie after his death, and all things finished on the Crosse, needefull to bee suffered for our redemption; which in

[z] Pag 156. your franticke humour you seeme to detest as [z] BLASPHEMOVS.

[The proofe that hee went thither, you will saie, is all; if that were once cleered, the rest would soone bee accorded.] I maie not for your pleasure (Sir Refuter) stande to rippe vppe and repeate the thinges which were then deliuered, and are nowe published; there you may looke; If you like them not, giue mee some reason besides your owne

owne roving conceit, and it shall bee some answered. [It is no where written in the Scriptures you will saie.] Saint [y] Austen iudicially and resolutelie telleth you, it is written in the Prophet Dauid, and so expounded by Saint Peter; and of that iudgement were all the Fathers of Christes Church without exception. [z] Athanasius saith it is a parte of the Catholike faith, without beleeuing the which we can not be saued. And sure the woordes be plaine enough, if you leaue wresting them from their right and true signification to serue your affections. What can be plainer, [a] Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, besides the Article of our Creede, He descended into hell? Your answer is: [b] *This is euident that the worde hell in our vulgar Creede is vnfit, corrupt and starke naught. For this I affirme, it is onelie the Fathers abusiue speaking, and altering the vsuall and auncient sense of Hades, that hath bredde this errour of Christes descending into hell. Their vnapt and perilous translating into Latine* Inferi, *and our naughtie and corrupt translation in English,* hell, *hath confirmed the same.* [d] *And note here first it is a thing too rife with the Fathers, yea with some of the auncienteste of them to alter and chaunge the authenticke vse of woords, whereby consequentlie it is easie for errours and grosse mistakings to creepe in. As* Chirotonia *to signifie ordination of Ministers, when it signifyeth authenticallie the peoples giuing of voices in election:* Kleros, *to signifie onelie the Cleargie, when it signifieth all the flocke. Euen so trulie the Greeke fathers vse* Hades *and the Latine* Inferi, *to signifie hell properlie and particularlie, that is, the place of the damned.* [e] *But this is a meere and plaine abusion of these wordes, and speciallie of our worde most in queestion, that is* Hades. *They haue much altered and changed the authenticke and true vse thereof.* You begin nowe to shewe your selfe in your right hue. All the Greeke and Latin fathers that euer were in the Church of Christ; all the English teachers that haue beene since this nation receiued the faith, neuer vnderstood the signification of the woord Hades, til you came

[y] Epist. 99.
[z] Athanas. in Symbolo.
[a] Psal. 16. Act. 2.
[b] Pag. 124.
[c] Pag. 95
[d] Pag. 96.
[e] Pag. 97.

came of late to bring vs newes of Socrates fansie, and Ciceros diuinitie to correct the Creede; Ignatius, Clemens, Origen, Athanasius, Eusebius, Basil, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Chrysostome, Cyril, Eustathius, Theodorete, with a thousand more naturallie borne Greekes; and manie of them nothing inferiour to Plato, or whom you can name, euen for their eloquence in the Greeke tongue, were they all ignorant of the worde Hades, which boies in Grammar schoole doe well vnderstande? Or did they all conspire one after another to falsifie the faith? Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ierome, Ambrose, Austen, Hillarie, Prudentius, Prosper, Fulgentius, with infinite others great Schollers and pillars in the Church of GOD, had none of them the skill to knowe what *Infernum* or *Inferi* meant, till you sprang vp to restore the Latine tongue to his originall integritie? Or did they all concurre purposelie to corrupt the Creede? Which will you take from all these fathers religion, or learning? If you leaue them so much vnderstanding as the boies haue nowe in Paules Schoole, they coulde not mistake either Hades, or Inferi. And therefore you may talke thus long enough before you shall gette anie sober Reader to beleeue you. He must bee as farre infected with this frenzie as you your selfe are, before this will anie way sinke into his head, that none of these vnderstoode their owne naturall language. [But they haue mistaken other wordes, you saie, as well as these; namelie, χειροτονία and κλῆρος] In deede you, or they haue grosselie mistaken the one; the other is not, that I knowe in question, vnlesse you take vppon you so greate a commaunde in the Church of GOD, that no worde maie bee vsed by anie man without your consent. Doeth anie Father in expounding the Scriptures, put the Cleargie for the people; as if the rest had no part in the Kingdome of

Christ?

Christ? but if they wanted a word to note them, that were called to the publike seruice of Christes church; and thought best to name them clerici, clerkes; what haue you to do with it? or what reason to speake against it; so long as the rest of Gods people are not thereby depriued of their parte in Gods heauenlie inheritance? And what if they tooke this tearme from the scripture and deriued the verie word from the Apostles mouthes? are you not well occupied to quarrel with them? Peter doth twice vse that worde for a parte, or place in the publike ministerie and seruice of the church, with which the people did not meddle. [a] Iudas (saieth Peter) was [a] Acts.1. numbred with vs, καὶ ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης, and had his place in this ministerie. So againe to Simon Magus; [b] οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερὶς, οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ. Thou [b] Acts.8 hast no part nor lot in this businesse or function. Where Peter in both places calleth the charge of an Apostle κλῆρος, not that Iudas, or the rest of the twelue were chosen by lots, but that he had a part with them in that function.

As for χειροτονία, I thinke there bee more saide, then you will be able to answere; you know where to finde it. Could you proue that the Apostles did make elders with the peoples voices, which you shall neuer bee able to doe, you had some reason to thinke the worde might importe some such thing; but where the worde in his owne nature is but to stretch out the hande, and it is certaine by the scriptures the Apostles in ordaining elders did vse imposition of handes, which is plainelie χειροτονία; (electing by voices they did not vse for ought that can bee prooued;) what a malepart gueft are you to saie, *It was a rife thing with the fathers, yea with the ancienteſt of them to alter & change the authentick vſe of words*; because the Athenians in Demosthenes time had a course in their publike assemblies to giue their consentes to make lawes and decrees with holding vp their handes, which he calleth χειροτονία? But you bite on the bridle I perceiue, and so you must, till you learne to be more sober then to condemne

so manie learned and religious fathers of ignorance and corruption; which in such a companion as you are, might well be beleeued; in men of their religion and iudgement can by no reason be mistrusted. This by the way, because you glance at χειροτονία, though therein you accuse not me that alleage them, but the fathers themselues as corrupters of church discipline, and perverters of their own language; howbeit hades is now in question and not κλῆρος, or χειροτονία: and therefore take for hades what you can, or rather for your selfe; since all wise men will hold you more then rash and presumptuous, if you condemne so many without great cause:

[1 *The classical writers*, you say, *the maisters of the Greek tongue* 1 Pag. 97.
do vse HADES *in proper sense only in generall for the* STATE
OF THE DEADE, *the* VVORLD OF THE DEADE, *the*
VVORLD OF SOVLES DEPARTED, *indifferently, and in-*
definitely, meaning as wel those in eternal ioies, as those in paines.]

Labour you (Sir Refuter,) to bring into the creede the marrowbones of a greeke phrase, or an article of the christian faith: if you be so idle headed, that you striue to haue a new phrase into the Creede, remember the kingdome of God is not in speach but in power. If you intende an article of the faith, pagans and Poets are no such classicall maisters, to be cited or followed in the mysteries of christian religion. What if it were true, which here as your maner is, you auouch with a brazen face, of Homer, Plato, & Plutarch did so vse the word; is it therfore a consequent the scripture must so speak: how many hundred Greeke words haue with Pagans their generall significations, which the holie ghost restraineth to expresse Gods truth, and serue Gods will? The greeke wordes for Apostle, elder, Bishop, Deacon, Gospell, Scripture, faith, hope, repentance, sinne, the law, conscience, concupiscence, and infinite such like, doe they not with Pagans import one thing, with Christians an other thing, and that by the warrant of Gods worde? touching hell it selfe; with your classicall wri-

1. Corinth. 4

ters

ters, and maisters of the Greeke tongue, (I meane euen Homer, Plato, and Plutarch) are not δαιμόνια, taken for good and blessed spirits, yea for Gods, which the scriptures vse onlie for diuels? Plutarchs booke περὶ τοῦ σωκράτους δαιμονίου; of Socrates spirit; which thing also Plato mentioneth in his Apologie and dialogue *De sapientia*, meaneth not Socrates Diuell; neither doth Isocrates prescribe vnto Demonicus by this rule, τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον, that hee should worship the diuell, but rather God; and yet by that word the new testamẽt and the Septuagint in the olde intend onelie diuels. διάβολος with the maisters of the Greeke tongue is but a carper or reprehender, insomuch that most of Platoes schollers were called διάβολοι, and yet in the newe testament this is the proper name for the diuell. τάρταρος Plutarch doth take for the ayre, and deriueth that word from colde; τάρταρος ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος κέκληται· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡσίοδος εἰπὼν τάρταρον ἠερόεντα. καὶ τὸ ῥιγοῦντα πάλλεσθαι καὶ τρέμειν, ταρταρίζειν. *Tartarus* is so termed from colde, whence *Hesiode* calleth it the ayrie tartare; and he that shaketh and trembleth for cold, is sayd *tartarizein*. Yet your instructor maketh τάρταρος the saple and prison in hell, and saith, S. Peter when hee telleth howe God condemned the Angels, taketh all the words from *Homer* and HIS PROSE COMMENTARIE. If he meane Eustathius the Chrisstian Bishop, it is a foule ouersight; if hee meane anie other, he shall do well to proue, and not to presume that Peter read Homer and his prose commentarie to expresse the punishment of Diuels. Nowe if δαιμόνιον, διάβολος, and τάρταρος haue other significations and acceptions with the maisters (as you make them) of the greeke tongue, & yet in the new testament are wholy & onlie referred to note hell and the diuels thither adiudged; whie may not the word HADES in like sort be taken from his prophane vse among the heathen writers, and bee applied by the Euangelistes and Apostles to signifie hell? yea if the opinion which the pagan

Apud Athen.

Plutarch. de primo frigido.

Poets

Poets, and prophane Philosophers holde of HADES were false and repugnant to the christian faith, howe could the canonicall writers of the new testament vse the word, and not change the sense? dare you so much as dreame, that the holy Ghost would canonize the Poets fables and the Philosophers fansies of the world to come? or if you be so foolish, as to forget the difference betweene light and darkenes, truth & falshood, will any wise man entertaine your poetical furies?

« [*The Gentiles*, (you will saie,) *tooke* HADES *for the worlde* « *of the deade, the worlde of soules departed: generallie and inde-* « *finitelie, were they in hell or in heauen, and this is no error*, (you « think,) *against the faith.*] But this is an open falshood cõmitted against your owne classicall writers; and if your cunning in the greeke Poets bee no profounder, the boies in Grammer scholes will deride it. I praie you sir by your Greeke Poets, Homer, Hesiode, and others what is HADES originallie, the name of a person, or of a place? I aske you none other question, but that which euerie childe acquainted with your Poets canne readilie tell, which your maisters of the Greeke tongue, Plutarch, and Plato confesse; which euerie speech that you, or your Instructor bringeth out of his Poets doth confirme. And here (christian Reader) I must praie thy patience and pardon, if I turne from the scriptures and fathers to the Poets and their fables; I haue no desire to it, nor delight in it; but such is the insolence of these men grounded vpon ignorãce, that it may not bee endured, and without some entering into these matters, it will not bee displaied. I will saie no more then I must needes, and omit what is not materiall.

Homer the first and eldest of your classicall writers imagineth that the three sonnes of Saturnus, whom hee supposeth to bee Gods, deuided the gouernement of the whole worlde betweene them; Iupiter taking the skie and the aire; Neptune the water, with her deepes and riuers: and Pluto the heart of the earth with all the dead of what sort soeuer. This thirde sonne

sonne of Saturne, and owner of the deade, is hee that Homer and all the Poets call ἅΐδης HADES; his name being diuerslie declined and inflected to serue their verse, but still the same person. Homer in the 15. of his Iliades maketh Neptune thus to speake. We are three brethren, the sonnes of *Saturne* by *Rhea*; *Iupiter* and I, τρίτατος δ' ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων; the third is HADES the ruler of those ý lie (dead) in the earth. The whole was deuided into three parts; my lot was to dwell alwaies in the sea, ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχεν ζόφον ἠερόεντα, and HADES lot was to haue the darke mist; and to *Iupiter* fell by lot the large heauen with the skie and clowdes. This HADES or God of the deade Homer calleth [b] ζεὺς καταχθόνιος, the god vnder the earth, and giueth him in the same booke these properties, ἀΐδης τοι ἀμείλιχος, ἦδ' ἀλάμασος, τὤνεκα καὶ τέ βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἁπάντων; HADES implacable & fierce; & for that cause of all ý gods the most odious to men. Hesiode agreeth with Homer, that *Rhea* companying with *Saturne* brought him notable children.

Homer Iliad. 15.

[b] Iliad. 9.

[c] ἰφθίμόν τ' ἀΐδην ὃς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει, νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, euen mightie HADES that dwelleth in housen vnder the earth and hath a cruell and mercilesse heart. The same Hades he maketh the gouernour of the deade, as Homer doth.

[c] Hesiod. in Theogonia.

τρέας' ἀΐδης δ' ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων: HADES was afraid that is ruler of the deade vnder the earth. This is that hades which you so much talke of, to whose house your Poets make all the dead iust & vniust, good and bad to come; and therefore the most of your authorities out of the Greeke Poets and others haue εἰς ἅΐδα, vnderstanding δόμον or οἶκον, to shewe that the deade go or come to HADES HOVSE or dwelling.

Ibidem.

The rest of your classicall writers and maisters of the Greeke tongue, both Plato and Plutarch alleadge and approue this fable of Homer. Plato in his dialogue of rhetorick called Gorgias, maketh Socrates thus to say; [d] Heare then a very

[d] Plato in Gorgia.

very excellent tale which you will thinke a fable, but I a good leſſon. That which I will ſaie, I will ſpeake to you for a trueth. As *Homer* reporteth, *Iupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto* deuided the gouernement, after they receaued it of their father. There was a lawe touching men vnder *Saturnus*, and euer was and ſtill is with the gods, that ſuch men as led a iuſt and holie life, when they departed hence ſhoulde goe to the Iles of the bleſſed, and there liue in all happineſſe without any euill; and they that had beene wicked and vngodlie ſhould goe to the priſon of puniſhment and vengeance which is called *Tartarus*. The iudges of theſe matters, in *Saturnes* time, and in the beginning of *Iupiters* raigne were the liuing of ſuch as yet liued, and gaue iudgement the ſame daie that each man ſhould die, wherefore their iudgement was corrupt. PLVTO thē and the Gardians of the bleſſed Ilands going to *Iupiter* tolde him, that there came vnto them men to either place vnmeete for that condition. To whome *Iupiter* aunſwered, I will ſee it redreſſed. The iudgementes are therefore now amiſſe, becauſe they that are iudged are couered round, for they are iudged aliue, and ſo many that haue wicked ſoules are compaſſed with beauty, nobility, & riches, and manie come to the place of iudgement, & depoſe they liued honeſtlie, and ſo the iudges are aſtoniſhed; as alſo the iudges thēſelues are clogged, hauing their ſoules wrapped with their eies, and eares, and the reſt of their bodie. Firſt therfore men muſt be kept from foreſeeing the time of their death. Thē they muſt be iudged whē they are naked from all theſe thinges, that is after death, and the Iudge likewiſe muſt be deade alſo, that he may be free frō theſe lets, and with his ſoule he muſt view the ſoule of euery man newly dead, forſaken of all his kind, & ſtripped of al worldly pompe, that the iudgement may be ſincere. And I foreſeeing this before you, haue appointed Iudges, two of my ſons *Minos* & *Rhadamanthus* out of Aſia, and a third which is *Aeacus* out of Europe. Theſe when they are dead ſhall iudge in an open meade in the meeting of three waies, whereof two ſhall leade, one to the Iles of the bleſſed, another to Tartarus. The ſoules of *Aſia* ſhall be

iudged

iudged by *Rhadamāthus*, & thoſe of Europe by *Aeacus*, to *Minos* will I giue the prerogatiue to decide ỹ doubts that ſhall ariſe in either place: ỹ the iudgmēt may be very euē which ſhal ſend ſoules to their places. This is that wich I haue heard, & beleeue to be true, & by their ſpeeches am perſwaded there is ſome ſuch thing. Thus far Plutarch citeth out of Plato ỹ iudges & places for the dead, & al this within Plutoes kingdom vnder ỹ earth, which they call HADES: where as well the places & pleaſures for the good, as the priſons & puniſhmentes for the bad are in their conceit prepared & ſetled. And this if you doubt, read either Vliſses deſcent to HADES deſcribed by Homer in the 11. booke of his Odiſſeas, or Aeneas iourney to hel, ſet forth by Virgil in the firſt booke of his Aeneides, or Dyoniſius voiage to ſee Euripides, expreſſed by Ariſtophanes, as alſo the like aduentures of Hercules & Theſeus mentioned by Euripides, & others, & you ſhall ſee THE VVORLD OF THE DEAD, or THE VVORLD OF SOVLES, be they good or bad, to be in Plutoes kingdom, which the greek Poets cal HADES: & therfore vnleſſe the diſtemper of your braines make you weary of Chriſtian religion, and incline you to Paganiſme, I doe not ſee what reaſon moueth you to bring Homers HADES to expounde the Creede. And were you permitted ſo to doe, what gaine you by it? For Homers HADES is ỹ region vnder the earth, where the good are kept in pleaſant fields, and the wicked in places of puniſhment, and this is euidently the hell of the Poets and Pagans, to which by your own claſſicall & authentical expoſition Chriſt did deſcend, if the ir HADES be receiued into the creede.

[*But* Plato *the wiſe Maiſter taketh it ſometime for heauen, as namelie in his Phædone, where ſpeaking in the perſon of Socrates a little before his death he ſaith. The ſoule beeing an inuiſible thing goeth hence to another place like to it ſelfe, that is, to a noble, pure, and inuiſible, in* HADES; *in truth to a good and wiſe God, whither if God will my ſoule ſhall preſently goe.*] Did you not propoſe Plato to bee an expounder of the Creede, and preferre him as a wiſe maiſter be-

[a] Plutarch. de conſolatione ad Appollonium ad finem.

[b] Ariſtophanes in ranis & Euripides in Hercule furente.

fore all the fathers, because you thinke hee fitteth your humour right, I coulde suffer him to haue his praise; but in this case I must saie of him as Tertullian doth, [f] *Doleo bona fide Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentorium factum; Illius est enim & in Phædone, quod animæ hinc euntes sint illinc, & inde hinc*; I am sorie in good sadnesse that *Plato* is becom the Apothecary of al heresies. For it is his opinion euen in his *Phædone*, that soules go hence thither, and thence hither. Your wise Maisters report of HADES and PLYTO, was the priuate opinion of Socrates against the common consent of Homer and all the poets, and against the receiued perswasion of the people. The conceite it selfe is full of pride, errour, and paganish infidelitie, absurditie, and blasphemie. And yet all this being verie true, Platoes wordes importe no such thing, as you imagine, that HADES is that heauen where God and his saintes remaine. And therefore, Sir Confuter, if you be wearie as well of the Apostles, as of the fathers, and instead of Christ will haue Plato to teach men the mysteries of the kingdome of heauen; Englande (where God be thanked there is a religious, vertuous and wise prince, ruling with christian lawes, and a number of learned and graue both Counsellors, Bishops, Iudges, and others that will endure no such prophanenes) is no fit place for you to bring in Platoes heauen. If I proue not these exceptions which I take to your wise maisters imagination, let me beare the shame; if I do, lok you; your fellowes how well you deserue of Christian religion to make the saintes to rest, and Christ to raigne either in Platoes heauen, or in Homers hades.

[f] Tertull. de anima.

For the first it is euident; the Poets all with one consent placed HADES BELOVVE VNDER THE EARTH, and not aboue in the skies, nor in heauen. Homer and Hesiod you haue heard. [g] Aristophanes maketh Dionysius desirous to see Euripides nowe deade, and therefore sendeth him to Hercules to learne the waie, to whome professing that no man shall perswade him not to goe

[g] Aristopha in Ranis.

to

to Euripides, Hercules replieth, πότερον εἰς ᾅδὸν κάτω; wilt thou goe TO HADES BELOVVE, to see him? where Plutoes kingdome is described aunswerable to the rest of the Poets. In Euripides the ghost of Polydor beginneth the first tragedie thus. [h] Here am I come leauing the dennes of the dead, and the gates of darkenesse· ἵν' ᾅδης χωρὶς ᾤκισαι θεῶν, where HADES hath his seate seuered from the gods. Pindarus speaking περὶ τῶν εὐσεβέων ἐν ᾅδᾳ, of the godlie that are in HADES, saith, [i] τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω; to them the strength of the sonne doth lighten the NIGHT that is there BELOVV. [k] Euripides maketh Hercules after the murther of his wife, and children to saie, θανὼν ὕφειμι ἧπερ ἦλθον, εἶμι γῆς ὑπο. Dying I will go vnder the earth whence I came; Howe whence Hercules came is expressed before [l] ἀνελθὼν ἐξ ἀνελίων μυχῶν ᾅδου κόρης ἕνερθεν returning from the darke chambers of the queene of HADES BELOVV. In like sort Sophocles maketh Aiax to saie. [m] τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐν ᾅδου τοῖς κάτω μυθήσομαι, the rest I will speake to the spirites BELOVV IN HADES. So Hercules remembring his workes, saith, with the se armes I drew by force, that inexpugnable Monster [n] τὸν θ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς ᾅδου τρίκρανον σκύλακα, the three headed whelpe of HADES VNDER EARTH. Simonides shewing how manie waies men end their liues, some by sickenesse, some by warre, some by sea, saith; such as are tamed or conquered in warre [o] πέμπει μελαίνης ἀΐδης ὑπὸ χθονὸς, HADES sendeth vnder the blacke earth. [p] Orpheus one of the eldest Writers of the Greeke tongue without comparison, that liued in the time of the Iudges of Israel, as Suidas testifieth, and not so farre infected with fables, as those Philosophers and Poets that came after him, describing the true God, that, as he saith, Moses wrote of, calleth him, ἀιθέρος ἠδ' ᾅδου, πόντου, γαίης τε τύραννε, δαίμονες ὃν φρίσσουσι θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὅμιλος; the king of the heauēs, of the earth, of the sea, AND OF HADES, before whom Diuels do tremble, and the whole companie of

[h] Euripin Hecuba.

[i] Apud Plutarch de consolatione ad Apollonium.

[k] Euripid: in Hercule furēte

[l] Ibidem.

[m] Sophocles in Aiace flagellifero.

[n] Sophocles in Trachiniis.

[o] Simonides in vitā humanam

[p] Orpheus de deo.

gods (or Angels) doe feare. Where in olde Greeke and gode diuinitie HADES is seuered from heauen, sea, and earth, and consequentlie must be properlie HELL. And so if you runne ouer all the Poets, you shall finde that with one generall consent they placed Hades not onelie κάτω below, but ὑπὸ χθονὸς, vnder the earth. This was the opinion of the people. [k] The common people (saith Lucian) perswaded by Homer, Hesiodus, and the rest of the poets, and taking their poems for a law τόπον τινὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ βαθὺν ἅιδην ὑπειλήφασι, beleeue HADES to be a deepe place vnder the earth; and that Pluto Iupiters brother raigneth ouer that gulph, the kingdome of the deade falling to him by lotte, and hee ordering howe they shall liue there belowe. The place was so called from the name of the person whome they supposed to bee gouernour of it; otherwise HADES was the proper name of Pluto, as Plato himselfe confesseth in Cratylo, [l] ὅ δὲ ἅιδης οἱ πολλοὶ μέν μοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ ἀειδὲς προσειρῆσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦτῳ, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα, Πλούτωνα καλοῦσιν αὐτόν. As for HADES the most part of men seeme to me to conceiue by the name that which is darke, or which can not bee seene, and fearing the name they call him PLVTO.

And howsoeuer Socrates in that place, with a very false and fond reason goeth about to proue, that the name of HADES, as hee thinketh was not thence deriued but rather ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα τὰ καλὰ εἰδέναι, from knowing al good things; which in deede is but a iest, and by no possibilitie can come within the compasse of that word; yet both Plutarch, and the prose commentator vpon Homer, neglect this vtterly, and vphold that which Socrates refuseth. [m] τὸ ἀειδὲς ἀυτοῖς καὶ ἀχρῶον, ἅιδης καὶ ἀχέρων ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχον. Hades and Acheron (saith Plutarch) haue their names from (the aire) that is not seene, nor hath any colour. And in his discourse, whether a secrete and silent life be best or no, Plutarch proposeth this etymologie as truer & elder thē Socrates fancie. [n] τὸν ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα κατὰ τὰς πατρίους καὶ παλαιὰς θεσμὸς νομίζοντες Δήλιον καὶ Πύθιον προσα-

[k] Lucianus de luctu

[l] Plato in Cratylo.

[m] Plutarch de primo frigido.

[n] Plutarch de occulte viuēdo

γο-

νομεύουσι: τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας κύριον μοίρας, εἴτε θεὸς εἴτε δαίμων ἐστίν, ἀΐδην ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἀϊδῆ εἰς ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀόρατον ἡμῶν, ὅταν διαλυθῶμεν, βαδίζόντων, νυκτὸς αἰδινὰς ἀεργηλοῖο θ' ὕπνου κοίρανον. Men ACCORDING TO THE AVNCIENT TRADITIONS OF THEIR FATHERS, thinking the sunne to be Apollo, named him Delius, and Pythius. And the RVLER of the contrarie destinie (to life and light) whether he bee a God, or a DIVEL, they termed HADES, being the MASTER of dark night, and dead sleepe; for that when wee depart hence, wee go into an vnknowne and vnseene place. So that Socrates derivation of Hades was both false and newe, euen as his opinion of HADES to be an eloquent and bountifull God; and his reason is worst of all, that because men returne not backe againe after death, therefore HADES doeth detaine them with eloquent perswasions, and great rewards, which maketh him to be called *Pluto*. For the scripture assureth vs, that men dead can not returne againe, though they were neuer so willing; and though God of his goodnes bestoweth euerlasting blisse on his Saints; yet the rest would faine bee rid of their eternall miserie, and can not; neither are they held in their state with faire promises, or large benefites, but by the vnalterable rigor of Gods iustice. Eustathius vpon Homers wordes, that Achilles sent many a worthie soule to HADES, saith; ἔστι γὰρ ἀϊδὴς τόπος σκοτεινὸς ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀφανὴς, χωριζόμενος ψυχαῖς. ἀϊδὴς, is a darke place vnder the earth, not to be seene, appointed for soules, and is deriued from ἀ the priuatiue, and εἶδω to see, and is called also ἀΐδης, and by contraction HADES. So when Homer bringeth in Hectors wife complaining of her miserie and saying,

Ῥοῦ μὲν ἀΐδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
ἔρχεαι, Thou husband art gone to HADES house vnder the dennes of the earth. Eustathius addeth; τόπος ἐστὶν ὑπόγαιος, καὶ ἔστω κεκρυμμένος; διὸ καὶ ἀΐδης λέγεται ἤγουν ἀὴρ ἀφανὴς, οὗ ἐστιν ἰδεῖν. This is a place vnder the earth, and so hidde from vs. Therefore it is called Hades, that is an inuisible aire, which wee

° Plato in Cratylo.

P Iliad. 22

can

can not see. And howsoeuer Socrates pleased himselfe in framing this heauen, as you call it, for himselfe, and a fewe others (for hee admitteth none but Philosophers into it) o Lucian in his Dialogues of the dead, bitterlie mocketh him, as being in Hell with all the rest; howsoeuer he dreamed of an heauen for himselfe after his departure hence.

o In dialog. Aeaci & Menippi.

How Paganish, and not onelie ridiculous but blasphemous Platoes heauen is, appeareth by this, that Socrates maketh SWANNES his fellow seruants to Phœbus, & imagineth they sing that day they die, προοιδόντες τὰ ἐν ᾅδου ἀγαθὰ, FORESEEING THE GOOD THINGS THEY SHALL HAVE IN HADES. And further saith that whē they perceiue they must die, then chiefly and most of al they sing γεγηθότες ὅτι μέλλουσι παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι ὅπερ εἰσὶ θεράποντες; reioycing that they SHALL GO TO GOD whose seruants they are. And those wordes which Socrates spake of Swannes, foreseeing THE GOOD THINGS IN HADES, you, Sir Confuter, in the abundance of your wit, note to proue HADES to be heauen. And to this heauen though Socrates admitte Swannes, yet he accepteth no men, but such as haue beene Philosophers, & those of the purest sort. As for such as vse popular and ciuil vertues, as iustice and temperance, gotten by care and continuance without Philosophie, his words are expressely these; q τοῦτος εἰκὸς ἐσιν εἰς τοιοῦτον πάλιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πολιτικὸν καὶ ἥμερον γένος, οἷον μελιττῶν, ἢ σφηκῶν ἢ μυρμήκων ἢ καὶ εἰς ταυτὸν γε πάλιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. εἰς δὲ γε θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφήσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθαρῷ ἀπιόντι ὁ θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἄλλῳ, ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ. It is fit that such (soules) should returne againe into some such politicall and tame kinde either of BEES, WASPES, or EMMETS, & after that into men again. But into the kinred of the Gods it is not lawful for anie to come that hath not beene a Philosopher, and verie pure at his departing hence. Others that were slouthfull and filled their bellies, hee saith must be turned into Asses, and such other beastes

p Plato in Phedone.

Pag. 91.

q Plato in Phædone.

beasts; and oppressours and wrong doers into Wolues, Kites and Hawkes. Of these his plaine resolution is [r] that such soules wander, vntill by the earnest loue of their bodilie nature, which followeth them, they PVT ON BODIES againe. And such bodies (of birds and beasts) they put on as resemble the manners of their former life. Here is a goodly world of soules to be brought out of Plato into the Creede; and Socrates heauen, why you should fansie, I cannot geesse, except it be, that none but very pure and precise persons shall come thither, to whom you would faine be the ringleader. But this is not all. In making HADES AND PLVTO, by which the Poets meane the diuell, to bee a wise and bountifull God, hath not your wise Master fitted his new heauen with an excellent head? Plutarch moueth the doubt whether HADES be a God or a DIVELL, that hath power ouer darknes and death: Homer & Hesiode affirme, he dwelleth vnder the earth, and is implacable, cruell, and hated of men. Porphyrie, no meane follower of Plato, concludeth PLVTO (which is all one with HADES as * Plato confesseth) to be the chiefe of all wicked spirits. Porphyries words are,

[r] Ibidem.

* In Cratylo.

Ἴσως δὲ πονηροὺς δαίμονας καὶ εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τὸν σάραπιν ὑποπίπτειν. εἰ δ' ἐν τῷ συμβάλλειν μόνον ἀναπειθόντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ μειλίγματα, καὶ τὰ πέμπτα χθονόπαικα πρὸς τὸν πλούτωνα γίγνεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐδείκνυμεν: ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ πλούτωνι ὁ θεὸς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα δαιμόνων ἄρχων, καὶ σύμβολα διδὸς πρὸς τὴν τέρψιν ὕλασιν.

[f] Citatur ab Eusebio de preparat. euangelica lib. 4. cap 12.

We doe not without cause coniecture that all wicked spirites are vnder Serapis; being led so to thinke not onely by his ceremonies, but because offerings to pacifie, and sacrifices auerting rage are done to PLVTO, as we haue shewed in our first booke. Now Serapis is all one god with Pluto, and therefore he is the greatest prince of Diuels, and one that giueth charmes to driue away spirits. Lo, here is Socrates wise and bountifull god, HADES AND PLVTO, concluded by a great Platonicke, to be the chiefe diuell; whose iudgement Eusebius followeth. And in deede considering his place where he dwelleth, his rage that he vseth against men, for which

hee is so feared and hated of them, and his sacrifices in which hee delighteth, as also his power ouer death and darkenesse, it is a cléere case that Platoes HADES OR PLVTO is the great diuell in hell; whose craftes and sleights, because hée knew not as a Pagan, he hath promoted him to bee a wise and liberall god; and you haue learnedly cited this wise deuise to make him ruler of your heauen, whither you send Christ and his Saints to liue there for euer.

Now were it graunted vnto you, that Pluto and HADES (which by the description of all your classicall Poets is in déede the diuell) were one of Platoes gods; are you so little acquainted either with Plato or with Paganisme, that you presently conclude hee is the true God of Heauen? Or that this inuisible place must nédes bee the kingdome of God? Looke but in the latter end of this booke, which you alleage for this very purpose: and there you shall sée what prettie fansies Socrates hath of another inuisible earth farre aboue this, and waters likewise, and trees, and flowers, and fruites, and beastes, and men that liue longer than we doe here below, and without sicknes; where also there are temples & woods, in which the gods dwell familiarly; τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ, καὶ ἄλσεα ἀληθῶς ἅγια θεῶν, That to see that earth is the sight of the blessed. But what be these wicked fancies either to the Créde or to Christian Religion? Séeing therefore your Gréeke Poets with one consent make HADES to be a god below vnder the earth; and put vnder his power as well the Elisian fields and seates for the iust soules, as the prisons and dungeons for the vniust; and this fantasticall conceite of Socrates touching a speciall place for himselfe and such Philosophers as hee was, together with Swannes, beasts, trees, flowers, fruites, as it was singular and secret to himselfe, so it was most absurd and wicked; you may by no meanes bring your Classicall writers that were Pagans to expounde the Créde:

& Plato in Phædone circa finem.

Crēde; much lesse must you binde the holy Ghost in the new Testament, to vse the word HADES, as the infidels did; since the holy Ghost onely knoweth and speaketh trueth; and their imaginations of the dead, or as you speake of the world of soules, was not onely false and foolish, but impious and blasphemous. And yet if you doe admit them to bee interpreters of the Crēde; which I vtterlie refuse for the causes I haue tolde you; they make directly against you. For HADES with them was the Ruler or place of soules that were beneath vnder the earth, were they in rest or in paine; and that Christian Religion will assure you must nēdes be hell, howsoeuer to beate out your broken matter you beginne halfe to doubt where hell is.

[*The authenticke authors of the Greeke tongue vsed hades for the place of the blessed soules* (you say) *and not properlie for hell. So Leonidas cheered vp his men not to feare such a blessed death; to suppe in hell had beene a colde comfort vnto them.*] You reade nothing your selfe belike, that you hit nothing right. In Plutarch whome you alleage, this is no comfort giuen by Leonidas; but hee seeing the Persians now in sight, as his men were dining; and in number so infinite aboue his, who were but an handfull, willeth them to make short, and saith; So dine, as men that must suppe in HADES; that is, care not for meate since death is so neere; but prepare to fight for your Countrey. It sheweth a resolution to dye, but no consolation after death more than they knew before; which was, that in HADES were places as well for the good to rest, as for the bad to bee punished; but both were below vnder earth, and in Plutoes kingdome, as the Gentiles supposed. Neither did Homer meane to make a new heauen, for such as Achilles slue, but to send them to the place where hee thought all soules did abide; and therefore hee put Achilles soule in Plutoes region vnder the earth, as

well as the reſt of the Grecians and Troians, that died in that Battaile. And becauſe your Proctor will néedes haue the words that Achilles ſpirite ſpake to Vliſſes at his deſcent to hell, to bee a dictionarie for hades, what place it is, againſt which if the Creede had gone, it had been a skoffe to all Hellas, and had hindered all the proceeding of the Goſpell: Let vs ſée whether his owne dictionarie will not returne all his allegations vppon his owne head. If HADES in the Créede muſt bée the ſame place, where Achilles ſpirite was, whither Vliſſes deſcended, and where he ſaw and ſpake with ſo many Ghoſtes, then apparantly HADES muſt bée the Poets HELL. At Vliſſes entrance Homer telling how the ſoules came about him ſaith,

a Odiſs. 11. a αἰὲν ἀγείροντο ψυχαὶ ὑπ' ἐρέβεσφιν: The ſoules flocked together out of Erebus; now ἔρεβος is the very place where the Poets place Cerberus, and whence the ſame Poet ſaith, Hercules

b Iliad. 8. b Ἐξ ἐρέβευς ἄξοντα κύνα στυγερὸν αἰόλον: Was ſent to fetch from Erebus the dogge of HATEFVLL HADES. Againe Vliſſes mother aſking him how hee came to that place, ſaith

c Odiſs. 11. c τέκνον ἐμὸν πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα, My ſonne how cameſt thou vnder this darke miſt? Of Aiax Ghoſt, who would not for anger ſpeake to Vliſſes, Homer ſaith,

d Ibid. d βῆ δὲ μετ' ἄλλας ψυχὰς εἰς ἐρέβος: Hee went away to other ſoules in Erebus. There Vliſſes ſaith hée ſaw Siſyphus

e Ibid. e κρατερὰ ἄλγεα ἔχοντα, Suffering grieuous torments, as alſo Titius and Tantalus to endure the like. There he ſaw f βίην Ἡρακλείην

f Ibid. εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεῆσι: πέρπει. Hercules ſtrength a Ghoſt: for hee himſelfe was in ioye with the immortall Gods. There Achilles ſpirite

g Odiſs. 11. toke ſo ſmall comfort, that when Vliſſes ſaid, s There is none

none happier then thou Achilles; before, whiles thou liuedst, wee honoured thee as a God, and now art thou a great commaunder among the Dead; bee not therefore so sadde; hée replied, Praise not death to mee Vlisses, I had rather serue any poore man (on earth) as his drudge, though hee were scant able to liue, then to raigne here ouer all the dead. If the place bee darke and dépe ὑφ⊙: if Cerberus bé there which the * Poets make the very kéeper of hell; if there bé grieuous and cruell punishmentes for such as deserue them, if the best haue there so little ioye of the place, as Homer maketh Achilles ghost here to confesse, what place can this bé but that hell, which all the Poets acknowledge; though in some part thereof there bé worse punishmentes then in other?

*Hesiod. in theogonia.
* Virgil. li. 6.

[This is not that Tartarus, you will saye, which the Poets make the Iayle and Prison for the wicked.] What is that to the purpose, if some punishmentes in hell bé worse than other? Looke to those whome the Poets place without the dungeon, and sée whether they bé in heauen or no? And because you and your friends talke so much of the worlde of Soules, and of heauen to bé found in HADES, and INFERI; and your selfe bring Virgil as one of your Classicall authors to proue this matter, h *Who though hee were a Poet, and fayned many things, yet hee spake* (you say) *familiarlie, and after the vulgar vse, and for the substance of the matter vttered touching heauen and hell, the opinion of the worlde then:* I must pray the Readers leaue and patience, whiles I follow you in your owne fantasticall deuise, though against mine owne liking, to let the simple sée what your worlde of soules, and your heauen is, euen in those very writers, which you produce for this purpose; and whether they bé fitte things to bé Presidents for the Créde or no. In Plutoes kingdome vnder earth, whether Æne-

» h Pag. 67.

as went to sée his Father Anchises, [i]Virgil your authenticke author maketh besides *Tartarus*, [k]*and your goodly Elisian fields the eternall habitation* (as you call it) *of the blessed*, many lodgings. As first for [l]sicknes, care, weeping, pouertie, labour, warres, discord, dreames, and death, besides for Centaures, Briareus, Hidra, Chimera, Gorgon, Harpies, and Gerion, and sundrie other monsters. There wander the Ghosts whose bodies are not buried a hundred yeare before they can get ouer the foule and filthie riuer of Styx. The other side of Styx, is kept by Cerberus the Dogge with three heads; where first are placed the soules of infants weeping and crying; then such as were vniustly condemned to death, next, such as being wearie of their liues killed themselues, now willing to suffer pouertie, or any paine on earth, so they might returne to life againe. In the fourth place are *Lugentes Campi*, the wofull fields of such as died for loue; in the fift, Warriers and such as pursued each other with the sword, where Æneas saw all the Grecians and Troians that dyed at the siege of Troy. Of all these places, where yet are no punishments, the Poet maketh Deiphobus to say to Æneas, what cause driueth thée,

Vt tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida adires,

To come to the wofull housen without sunne, and lothsome places? Then leadeth the left hand to Tartarus, which these men so much harpe at, compassed with fierie Phlegeton, and there are the punishments of the wicked; then Plutoes palace, and on the right hand, *Amæna vireta fortunatorum nemorum sedésque beatæ*, The sweete springs of the fortunate woods, and the blessed seats. Here is the heauen which this confuter alleageth out of Virgil, and here Æneas found his father Anchises, in a greene vale, viewing the soules that dranke of the water of oblition, and were to take new bodies on earth againe. His words are,

* *Animæ quibus altera fato,*

Corporâ

i Æneidos 6.
k Pag. 101. " *and your goodly Elisian fields the eternall habitation* (as you call it) *of the blessed,*
l Æneidos 6.
* Æneidos 6.

Corpora debentur, Lethei ad fluminis vndam
Securos latices & longa oblivia potant.

The soules who by destinie are to take bodies the second time, doe here at the Riuer of Lethe drinke the waters of vtter forgetfulnes, no way remembring whatsoeuer they saw or knew, either whiles they first liued, or during the time of their abode vnder earth. And because it seemed strange to Æneas, that soules should come to take other bodies, though this be right Platoes fansie in his Phædone, Anchises telleth his sonne the secrets of Platoes Purgatorie, heauen, and resurrection, as Virgil conceiued them, who was a great Platonist. When men die (saith he) all the infections of their bodies cannot presently be taken from their soules. Æneidos 6.

Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterúmq; malorũ supplicia expendunt,

Therefore the soules (of such as are curable, for the desperate and insanable, are cast into Tartarus, and neuer come thence by Platoes owne words) are purged with paines, and abide the punishment of their former infection, some are hanged vp to the winde, some are plunged vnder water, some are clensed by fier:

Quisque suos patimur manes, exinde per amplum m Æneidos 6.
Mittimur Elysium, & pauci læta arua tenemus,
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purúmque reliquit,
Æthereum sensum, atque auraï simplicis ignem.
Has omnes vbi mille rotam voluêre per annos,
Letheum ad fluuium Deus euocat agmine longo,
Scilicet immemores supera vt conuexa reuisant,
Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reuerti.

Wee euery one of vs suffer our clensing, and after that wee are sent out into the large Elysian fieldes, where but a fewe of vs inhabite these pleasant places, vntill long time hath taken awaye the bodilie infection, and leaueth the æthereall sense pure, and the vigour of the fierie and simple

simple ayre. Then after a thousand yeares God calleth all these soules (thus purged and placed in the fortunate seates) to the flood of Lethe, that they may goe to the earth againe, with vtter forgetfulnesse of all things, and beginne to desire to returne to new bodies. To these Elysian fields when Æneas should come, the Poet maketh Sybilla say,

Æneidos 6. *Ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad vmbras*;

Æneas descendeth to his father, euen to the soules below in Erebus: And that Erebus is one of the infernall Gods, as the Poets call them, can bee no question. For when Dido minding to kill her selfe prepared *Sacra Ioui stygio*, Sacrifices to the infernall Iupiter, the Poet maketh her Priest

Æneidos 4. to inuocate, *Tercentum tonat ore deos Erebúmque Chaósque*, Three hundred gods, and Erebus and Chaos.

This is the worlde of Soules that Virgil deliuered in his time; which hee collected out of Plato; this is the heauen, that is contayned in HADES and INFERI. Iudge thou Christian Reader, whether this be not the high way to Paganisme, to tell vs that this is the heauen, where the Saints of God are in rest, and whether Christ ascended. For my part, but that I thinke this confuter talketh of that hee knoweth not, I must haue proclaymed him for a Pagan; and therefore after hee saith it, if hee persist to say that heauen is either Homers HADES, or Virgils INFERI, I may not spare to discharge the dutie of a Christian man, to let the whole realme vnderstand, that this is open infidelitie, cloaked vnder the name of Puritie. Platoes world of Soules where it altereth from this, is rather worse than better. For hee saith, the soules of euill men are clogged with their bodilie vncleanenes,

n Plato in Phædone. and wander, n ὥσπερ λέγεται περὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τοὺς τάφους, about tombes and graues, as it is said, and then put on the bodies of beastes, birds, or wormes. And you, Sir Confuter, lighting on the first part of these words, openly falsifie them, and lewdly

lewdly misapply them. For in stéede of (as it is said) you translate, (* *as it is commonly said*) and by that worde COMMONLY of your owne adding, and referred to the former words, where there is a manifest distinction or pause betwixt them, you bid the reader note that HADES *is commonly called heauen.* For thus you write: Againe, *Plato saith of heauen, that it is an vnseene estate, euen* HADES, *as it is commonly called,* which you will by the side to be *noted*; where Plato in that place speaketh not one word of heauen. But such is the miserie of your cause, you must belie your authors, or else you will lacke proofes for your humours. And touching the soules of all men that are borne, Plato holdeth their soules hau bodies before, and stape in HADES, vntill the time come that they must haue bodies againe, and therefore all our knowledge heere is but the remembring of that wée knew before, when our soules were in other bodies; which is the opinion that Tertullian chargeth him with: His owne wordes are,

„ Pag. 98.

o Pag. 98.

p παλαιὸς μὲν ἔν τις ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὃν μεμνήμεθα ὡς εἰσὶν (αἱ ψυχαὶ) ἐνθένδε ἀφικόμεναι ἐκεῖ· καὶ πάλιν γε δεῦρο ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ γίγνονται ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων. There is an auncient assertion which wee remember, that soules departing hence are there, and come hither againe, and are new borne from the dead. And least you should thinke hée did not consent to it; hée saith somewhat after,

p Plato in Phædone.

q καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐκ ἐξαπατώμενοι ὁμολογοῦμεν· ἀλλ' ὄντι καὶ τῷ ὄντι, καὶ τὸ ἀναβιώσκεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων τοὺς ζῶντας γίγνεσθαι. Wee are not deceiued confessing all this; but there is in very trueth a returning of soules to liue againe on earth; and of the dead spring the liuing. Consult you and your Instructor whether you will bring this HADES or world of soules into the Créede; or whether the théefe from the Crosse ascended to this heauen, together with the soule of our Sauiour. But if these bee intolerable and abominable heresies to haue soules passe from bodie to bodie; and Platoes HADES be nothing

q Ibid.

else but a continuall chopping and changing of soules from life to death, and from death to life againe, hale backe your HADES from the Creede, howsoeuer your Hellas will take pepper in the nose to see her follies refused.

Cicero is your last authenticke writer that you bring to proue *Inferi* to bee heauen, out of whom you note three things. [f Pag. 107.] "[f] *First, that he vtterlie misliked the opinion of the olde Latines, that thought the world of the dead was vnder the earth, and therefore gaue this terme* INFERI, *to signifie the same: this hee openly misliketh, that the damned soules were beneath in the earth, or at least in such kinde of torments as many did imagine. How much more did he condemne them, that thought all the deceased soules were beneath, vnder, or in the earth? The blessed hee thought rather, as Plato did, to ascend vp to heauen.* [g Pag. 108.] [g] *Secondly, you note, That although hee reiected the opinion of the former Latines, yet hee retayned the Latine phrase, as being now common and familiar euery where; which rose of olde from that opinion, thinking all the dead after this life to be* infra, *beneath. He had learned to thinke wiselier, but yet he spake so, as the vulgar phrase had preuailed, according to Aristotles rule; we must thinke as the wise doe, but speake as the people doe. Thirdly, Tullie saith of this opinion followed great errors.* If a man would hire you to speake against your selfe, you cannot doe it in plainer manner than here you doe. You confesse that Cicero was the first (for before him you bring none) that misliked the opinion of the olde Latines (whose speate and tongue in Italie was then 1200. yeares olde) that the world of the dead was vnder the earth, and to signifie so much, they vsed the worde Inferi; which had continued in the mouthes of all men learned and vnlearned, till Ciceroes time, to expresse the state of the dead. Secondly, you say the phrase "was so *common and familiar euery where for the worlde* "*of the dead*, that Cicero himselfe, though hee thought otherwise

otherwise durst not depart from *the vulgare phrase which had so generally prevayled*. Then by your owne confessi- " on wee haue thus much, that *Inferi* for twelue hun- " dred yeares in the mouthes of all men ignorant, and learned among the Latines and Romanes did signifie the state of such soules as were vnder the earth. Now let Cicero say what he can to the contrarie; his authoritie is no waie so great that it should ouerwaigh so long and setled a consent. Great errors followed hereof Tullie saith. And you affirme the like, but not so great as Tullie himselfe maintayned in reiecting that opinion. For he in some pride of his tongue and conceite of his wit brought heauen and hell to be vtterly nothing.

That the old Latines thought all men after death to go vnder the earth I see no proofe; I find rather the contrarie confessed by your owne author. He alleageth out of Ennius, t *Romulus in cælo cum diis agit ævum, vt fama assentiens dixit Ennius.* Romulus leadeth his life in heauen with the Gods, as Ennius approuing the fame writeth. And againe; *Abijt ad Deos Hercules. Vetera iam ista, & religione omnium consecrata.* Hercules is gone to the Gods. These things are ancient and sealed with the religious consent of all men. So that Ciceroes words which you alleage, cannot import that they thought so of all men, for then they must so haue thought of Romulus and Hercules, which Cicero confesseth all men acknowledge to be in heauen; but they supposed so of most men; which amongst Pagans, as they were, was no such great error, as you would make it, nor any way so great as that which Cicero laboured to establish in place thereof. For he through the insolencie of his opinion of himselfe, or inconstancie of his disposition, or both, would sometimes haue an *Inferi*, or hell below; and sometimes he would haue none. Examples whereof are euident in his writings. In his spleene against Antonie, he saith; u *Illi igitur impij, quos occi-*

t Tuscula. quæst. li. 1.

u Philippica. 14

distis, etiam ad Inferos pœnas parricidij luent: vos autem qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis locum et sedem consequuti. Those wicked, whom ye slew, shall IN HELL suffer the punishment of their parricide: you that lost your liues in obtayning the victorie haue obtayned the place and seate of the blessed. In his braverie defending Cluentius, he cast it all off as a foolish fable. x *Quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? nisi forte ineptijs ac fabulis ducimur, vt existimemus illum apud Inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, et actum esse præcipitem in sceleratorum sedem atq; regionem: quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit præter doloris sensum?* What harme could (Cluentius) do vnto (Oppianicus condemned and banished for his lewdnes) by killing him? vnlesse wee believe toyes and fables to thinke he endured the punishment of the wicked in hell, and that he was cast headlong into the region and prison of the vngodly? which (conceits) if they bee false, as all men may easily vnderstand, what hurt could death doe him, but take from him all sense of griefe? To make a reason for his Client, that by killing his aduersarie, afflicted with penury and miserie, he should rather doe him a good turne, then a spite, he vtterly reiecteth, as a fable, that the wicked haue any punishments after this life; which in the former place against Antonius souldiers he vrged as vehemently for a truth.

x Pro Cluentio.

And though in this place he take, as you say, the ignorance of the olde Latines, yet in an other place, hee commendeth their wisedome, for the self same position. y *Itaq; vt aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud Inferos eiusmodi quædam illi Antiqui supplicia impijs cõstituta esse voluerũt, quod videlicet intelligebant his remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.* Therfore to terrifie the wicked in this life, THOSE AVNCIENT Fathers held there were some such punishments appointed IN HELL for the wicked, because they saw without thē death was no way to be feared. And, Sir Refuter, are you a Christian, that thinke it worth the noting out of a prophane Orator,

y Oratio in Catilin. 4.

that

that it is a fooliſh fable to thinke, the wicked are puniſhed after this life in hell: Vphold you the proude and lewd conceite of a Pagã againſt the ſetled and reuealed iudgements of God by his word? dare you adde of your owne head (for your author hath no ſuch word) [z] *that the ignorance* OF THE TRVTH *beganne this opinion, that Inferi were vnder the earth, and the terrors of hell alſo?* I ſee your deuiſe; you would haue hell euerie where; and TORMENTS OF HELL you would haue none, but ſuch as Chriſt by your aſſertion ſuffered in his ſoule here on earth; and becauſe you want good authoritie to countenance this matter, you reade vs a Lecture out of Cicero, that he thought ſo before you, and that he is a verie authenticke and Claſſicall writer. But keepe this leſſon till you get none but Atheiſts and Infidels to bee your hearers; they will thanke you for it; Chriſtian eares doe abhorre it; and will deteſt your prophanes as much as they doe Ciceroes. For if there bee no puniſhment in hell, ſure there is no hell, and he that decreaſeth the terror, decreaſeth the truth of it: therefore the olde Latines did not erre. But your New Orator thinketh hee may build and ouerturne hell and heauen at his pleaſure.

z Pag. 106.

As he dealeth with hell, ſo doth he with heauen; ſomtymes he will haue one, and ſomtimes he cannot tell whether there bee any ſuch habitation for ſoules or no. And the heauen which he would haue, is a Manſion of his owne making. Such authors you bring vs to expound the Creede, and to outface all the Fathers, that they themſelues cannot tell what they ſay. Where he purpoſely diſputeth of the ſeate and ſanctuarie for the ſoule after death, he concludeth the whole diſcourſe, as doubtfully as he beganne. [a] *Si ſupremus ille dies non extinctionem, ſed commutationem affert loci, quid optabilius? ſin autem perimit ac delet omnino; quid melius quàm in mediis vitæ laboribus obdormiſcere, et ita conniuentē ſomno ſepeliri ſempiterno?* If the daie of our death bring not a periſhing but changing of places, what can be more

a Tuſcula. quæſt. lib. 1. ad finem.

to be wiſhed for? But if it vtterly quench and extinguiſh (bodie and ſoule) what can be more acceptable amidſt the troubles of this life, then as it were wincking to ſlumber, and ſhutting
Ibidem. our eies to fall into an euerlaſting ſleepe? *Habes ſomnum imaginem mortis, eamq; quotidie induis, & dubitas quin ſenſus in morte nullus ſit, quum in eius ſimulachro videas eſſe nullum ſenſum?* Thou haſt ſleepe which thou daylie trieſt, for an image of death; and doubteſt thou but there is no ſenſe in death, when thou findeſt no ſenſe in ſleepe, which is the patterne of death? Now on the other ſide for Ciceroes heauen, which you will needs bring into the Creede vnder the name of *Inferi*, hee maketh it no reward of vertue, nor gift of grace to be beſtowed where it pleaſeth God; but he affirmeth there is a fierie aire aboue, of which ſoules are made; and therefore as ſone as the ſoule is loſed from the bodie, it flieth vpward as fier doth, by a naturall motion, vnto the place, which is like to it ſelfe, and there ſtayeth, and is nouriſhed with the ſelfe ſame things, with which the ſtarres are nouriſhed.

Ibidem. *Qua quum conſtẽt, perſpicuum debet eſſe, animos quum é corpore exceſſerint, ſiue illi ſint ſpirabiles, ſiue ignei, ſublime ferri: accedit vt eo facilius animus euadat ex hoc aere, quem ſæpe iam craſſum appello, eumq; perrumpat, quod nihil eſt animo velocius. Qui ſi permanet incorruptus, ſuiq; ſimilis, neceſſe eſt ita feratur, vt penetret & diuidat omne cœlum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres, ventiq; coguntur. Quam regionem quum ſuperauit animus, naturamq; ſui ſimilem contigit, & agnouit, vinctus ex anima tenui, & ex ardore ſolis temperato ignibus inſiſtit, et finem altius ſe efferendi facit. Quum enim ſui ſimilem & leuitatem & calorem adeptus eſt, tanquam paribus examinatis ponderibus, nullã in partem mouetur. Eáq; ei demum naturalis eſt ſedes, quum ad ſui ſimilem penetrauit, in quo nulla re egens, alitur & ſuſtentatur, iiſdem rebus quibus aſtra ſuſtentantur & aluntur.* It is long and tedious (good reader) to be troubled with theſe prophane follies; but becauſe the confuter laboureth ſo much to haue

Ciceroes

Ciceroes word of soules and his heauen into the Creede, and in respect of him disgraceth all other writers as ignorant of the latine tongue, these words will playnly shew thée, what an audacious, irreligious, and heathenish attempt that is; and how absurdly and lewdly he saith, Cicero had learned to thinke wiselyer then they, that said hell was below in the earth. For they deliuered a trueth, and this of Ciceroes is a false, foolish and wicked fansie. The English of his words is in effect this. These things being certain, it ought to be a cleare case, that our soules when they leaue the bodie, whether they be of an aerie or fierie nature, do mooue vpward. A good helpe for the soule with more ease to passe and breake through this grosse ayre heere below is this, ỹ nothing is swifter than the soule. Which remayning vncorrupt, and alwaies like it selfe, OF NECESSITIE MVST ASCEND, and pearce, and deuide all THIS HEAVEN (or ayre) in which the cloudes, windes, and rayne engender. Which region when the soule hath once passed, and touched, and perceiued a nature like to it selfe, mixed of a subtile ayre, and the temperate heate of the sunne; in that fierie region, IT STAYETH, and maketh an ende OF ASCENDING ANY HIGHER. For when it hath gotten like both heate and purenes (of the ayre) balanced as it were with equall waights, it moueth no way. AND THIS IS THE NATVRAL SEATE OF THE SOVLE, when it commeth to a like ayre to it selfe; in which needing nothing, IT IS NOVRISHED and fed with THE SELFESAME THINGS, VVITH VVHICH THE STARRES ARE NOVRISHED and sustayned. Ciceroes heauē is nothing but an heap of heathenish impieties. The first, that the substance of the soule consisteth of fier or ayre; the second, that of necessitie it ascendeth vpward as fier doth. The third, that when it commeth to a pure ayre and temperate heate of the sunne, it stayeth there, and ascendeth no higher. The fourth, that this is the naturall seat for the soule, and thence it moueth no way. The fift, that it is there nourished and sustayned with the selfe same things,

with

with which the starres are. The consequents to this heauen are most horrible. First that all soules by necessitie of their nature being in this place, there are consequently none in HELL, nor none in heauen, and so both those places are vtterly emptied by your eloquent Master. Next that, when the starres & skies shall be melted and dissolued with fier, then must the soules of all men be likewise dissolued, consisting of the same matter, which they doe, and so vtterly extinguish. Lastly, Gods promises, and threats are all frustrate, if he can doe his enemies no more hurt, nor his seruants more good, then this heauen affoordeth. And therefore if you bring the world of soules, or this heauen into the Créede, I must refuse the Article for open and euident points of Infidelitie, which I suppose, the Apostles, nor Apostolicke men neuer meant, when they made the Créede.

Yet this place such as it is, Cicero, you say, called it *Inferi*. Syr if you leaue lying, you must leaue writing. For you can shant write a true word. Cicero doth no where call this place *Inferi*; but howsoeuer he had his priuate conceits as a Philosopher, yet when he spake before the senate, or the people, he was forced to yéld to such opiniõs, and to vse such words as were commonly receiued with all men, and that is the direction which Aristotle giueth by the rule which you alleage, that though we must learne to think as wise men do; yet we must be content to speake as the people doe, not that by so speaking we must alter the nature and proprietie of the words, which wee vse; but mynding to aduise or perswade the multitude, we must condiscend as well to their vulgar phrases, as to their generall and receiued opinions. And therefore as the people thought all men dying to descend vnder the earth to *Inferi*, so Cicero speaking in open place vseth this same phrase, whatsoeuer he priuately thought of the place where the dead were.

From Pagans (Syr Refuter) you returne to Christiãs, & whom before you accused for altering & changing the auth-

ticke

vse of words, you now alleadge as obseruing the true pro-
prietie of the same word, for which you did chalenge them
before. [b] *Hereunto let vs adde* (saie you) *that the latter learned*
writers euen Christians haue also espied and graunted this pro-
prietie of the latin word Infernum or Inferi, as also of the Greeke
HADES. Ierom *saith, Infernus is a place where the soules are in-*
cluded either in rest or in paines. The farder you go, the more
you shew, you vnderstand neither Pagans nor Christians.
The fault you found with the latin Fathers was, that they
[c] *vse the word Inferi to signifie hell properlie and particularlie,*
that is the place of the Damned: or else an other particular place
vnder the earth a part of hell and not farre from hell it self where
soules remayned if not in paines, yet in prison, & far from the place
of eternall blessednes & ioy, but this you affirme *is a meere and*
plaine abusion of the word. And within two leaues, when Ierom
saith the verie same thing, which you misliked before, and cal-
led a meere and plaine abusion of the word; you confesse *hee*
espied the true proprietie of the word Infernus. This is banding
of Balles in a tennis Court, and not anie searching after a
truth in the church of God. But when your learning reacheth
no further, you must needes breath out your ignorance, or bri-
dle your toong, which hath runne so long on a voluntarie,
that you cannot tell when you bee out, nor when you bee in.
Ierom indeede was of opinion that before Christs death
the soules of all, as well good as bad, were shut vp in a place
within the earth; the good in rest and expectance of Christs
comming thither, by him to bee deliuered; the badde in
paines and torments. This place common to both sorts,
but with different effects, Ierom calleth *Infernus*, which in our
English toong is hell. Of this place he saith. [d] *Infernus locus*
est in quo animæ recludantur siue in refrigerio siue in pœnis. Hell
is a place in which soules are included, either in rest or in
paine. Here you saie Ierom espied the proprietie of the
latine word *Infernum* or *Inferi*. Bee it so since you will
needes haue it so. But *Infernum* in this place doth

[b] Pag. 101. in Oseæ. 13.

[c] Pag. 96.

[d] in Oseæ. 13

no waie signifie the kingdome of heauen; Ergo the true propietie of the worde *Infernum* doeth not signifie the kingdome of heauen. The Maior is your owne. The Minor by Gods grace I will proue euen out of Ierom. Marke well his wordes.

Hiero. in epitaph Nepot. ad Heliodorum.

Quid simile Infernus & regna cælorum? What likenes haue *Infernus* and the kingdome of heauen? you saie Infernus is taken by Ierome for the kingdome of heauen; Ierome himselfe telleth you the one hath no likenesse to the other. Are you not caught like a long beaked thing in your owne grin? and because you shall perceiue it is not a tricke, but a truth that I preache you with out of Ierom, that INFERNVS by no meanes is the kingdome of God, and consequentlie must be properlie hell, (except you will builde newe receptacles for soules after Christs ascension where they may bee, neither in hel nor in heauen,) you shal haue more out of Ierom touching

[c] In Amos. ca. 9

the true propieties of these wordes. [c] CERNE PROPRIETATES; AD INFERNVM DESCENDITVR, AD COELVM CONSCENDITVR. MARKE THE PROPRIETIES (of these two words:) TO HELL MEN DESCEND, TO HEAVEN MEN ASCENDE. And againe, [f] *Nota ante aduentum Christi, quamuis sanctos, omnes Inferni lege detentos. Porro quod sancti post resurrectionē domini nequaquam teneantur inferno testatur Apostolus dicens; melius est dissolui & esse cum Christo; Qui autem cum christo est, vtique non tenetur in Inferno.* Note that before Christs comming all, euen the saints thēselues, were detained vnder the lawe of hel: but that after the resurrection of our Sauior they are not holde in hel, the Apostle witnesseth when he saith; It is better to be dissolued and to bee with Christ. And he that is with Christ certainely is not detained in hell. There is no shifting from the force of these wordes. Afore Christs comming the saints were in *Inferno*, after his ascension they were not. For hee that is with Christ is not in *Inferno*. Saie if you dare that *Infernus* here is the kingdom of God. For then these absurdities will pursue

[f] In Eccles. cap. 9.

you.

you: That after Christes ascension the saintes are not in the kingdome of heauen, and he that is with Christ is not in the kingdome of Christ: wherefore maugre your beardc, if you haue anie, *Infernus* with Ierom is trulie and properlie hell, and in no wise the kingdome of heauen, as you imagine. Thus thriue you by your own authors, whom you produce to make the world beleeue that formerlie HADES & INFERI did signifie heauen: such heauens if you be wise, keepe your selfe from, neither professe to expound the Créd by the Classicall maisters of the gréeke tongue, being Poets & Pagans. What is to be thought of that opinion of the Fathers that the saints before Christs comming were in *Inferno*, in hel, but frée from feare or torment, though in some darknes, as also whence they toke the ground of that assertion, I haue shewed in the end of the treatise before as much as néeded to this question; there with ease it may be perused,

*Vide pag. 189 et sequent.

[They misiooke, you will saie, the word *Infernum* in the old testament, and thence grew their opinió, that the Patriarks and prophets before Christes comming went to hell; but the scriptures had no such meaning; for neither the worde Sheol with the Hebrues, nor the worde Hades with the Septuagint had any such sense, to signifie hell. And this a notable argument, ỳ Hades signifieth the world of soules, or generall state of the dead, were they in hel or in heauen.] Wee are all this while out of our proper element to sift heathen philosophers & Poets for the meaning of the créde, & a little smattering in the Greeke tongue made the Refuter so arrogant, that hee bid defiance to all the fathers both gréeke and Latin, as vnable to vnderstande one poore word in the Créde, which the church of Christ proposed to euerie childe to learne, and to euerie catechist to knowe. But now wee are returned to the scriptures againe, (for Fathers they leaue as corrupters of the olde both faith and phrase) wee shall goe through with more ease, and ende with more speede. That Sheol or Hades doe signifie heauen, either in the Scriptures of the

olde or newe Testament, or with the Septuagint which are the translators of the Hebrue into Greek, I vtterlie denie; and no man liuing shall euer bee able to make anie proofe thereof; on which issue I am content to ioyne with any man that is learned and sober, for the hazard of either of our credits. If Sheol, and Hades in the scriptures neuer signifie heauen, then can they not signifie THE VVORLD OF SOVLES; for so much as there is no one place common to all soules departed this life, but some are in hell, and some in heauen; and for one worde to signifie both hell and heauen so farre distant one from the other, and so much repugnant one to the other, is somwhat strange, except it could be strongly proued. Chaos did import the whole masse of heauen and earth before they were distinguished, but since they were seuered, and setled by the wonderful wisedome and mighty power of God so far apart one from the other, and so much vnlike one to the other, there are wordes in the scripture which note all that God made, but none that compasse heauen and hell, excluding the rest. S. Paul vseth [g] κτίσις for the creature, and [h] καταβολὴ κόσμου for the making of the world, and our sauiour vseth [i] ἀιὼν for this world and the next, where nothing is excepted; but that heauen and hel should come to be included in one worde & the rest excluded, I see neither why, nor howe it should be. For where wordes are common, some things must also be common, as needefull to bee expressed by those wordes; but to soules in heauen and hell no positiue thing is common; all things are rather contrarie. Their bodies they want in both places, because they are soules; other wise their states be as repugnant in all points, as light and darknesse, Christ and Belial, yea as heauen and hell in which they are; & therefore as light and darknes, faith and infidelitie, truth and errour haue no common worde to compasse them being contraries each to other; no more haue heauen and hell as they are the rewardes of the iust and vniust; for so much as all things in either are directlie repugnant each to other.

[g] Rom. 8.
[h] Ephes. 1
[i] Matth. 12.

Against

Again that SHEOL or HADES may possiblie signifie heauen I vtterly deny, because in heauen besides the soules of men, there are the elect angels of God, to whom if anie man dare applie SHEOL or HADES, he must giue me leaue to thinke his iudgement to be weake, and his faith vnsound.

[Sheol and Hades, you will saie signifie all that are deade in either place.] But you must remember, that both these wordes in the Scriptures doe properlie signifie places and not persons. For though the ancient Grecians vsed the word HADES, first for a person, and then for the place which that person gouerned; yet the holie ghost (knowing that the person which the Pagans meant was in déede the Diuell) vseth the worde for the place, and not for the person, except the texte bee figuratiue. In Sheol it was neuer doubted but that it alwaies signified a place, and neuer anie person. Nowe if neither Sheol nor Hades canne signifie both places, I meane heauen and hell, then canne they not signifie the worlde of soules; for they bee dispersed in both those places.

[It cannot be denied, you will saie, but the olde testament referreth Sheol, as the Septuagint doe Hades, both to the godlie and to the wicked after death.] It is most true that Sheol in Hebrew, and Hades in Greeke are applied in the olde Testament both to the good and bad; The Question is not to what men, but to which parts of men, good or bad, Sheol and Hades are referred. To the bodies of men, good and bad, lying deade in the graue they are sometimes applied; to the soules of the godlie, as detained in either, they are neuer applied. Sheol and consequentlie HADES with the Septuagint, importeth the whole death that is due to sinne, and euerie part thereof; but by no meanes heauen, where the soules of the saintes are, nor anie part of that blisse, which they possesse. Since then as well the death of the bodie in this worlde, as the death of the soule in the next worlde were the wages of sinne; Sheol and Hades

doe sometimes signifie the generall state of deade bodies, as when the Scripture describeth rottennesse, silence, forgetfulnesse, senselessenese, contempt, dishonour, and such like to bee in Sheol. And the same worde when it is referred to the soules of the wicked as there detained, or of the godlie as thence deliuered; for so much as the soule cannot be inclosed in the graue; of necessitie the pit prepared for the soules of sinners must bee, by all such textes of Scriptures, intended. But that Sheol or Hades shoulde signifie the worlde of Soules, as well in heauen as in Hell, neither hath this Refuter brought anie Texte or reason for it, neither will hee euer bee able to prooue it. And howsoeuer one of late hath taken vppon him to talke of those thinges, like one of the Titanes with bigge and bombasted tearmes; I, seeing nothing in that fardell of his but Riddles and raylinges, meane not to alter my course.

When touching the sense of Sheol in the olde Testament, I take it to bee cleare, that it sometimes signifieth the graue or the state of deade bodies; but neuer the worlde of soules, which phrase the Refuter hath caught by the ende, hoping at length to conueie it into the Creede. But hee must first shewe vs where hee findeth anie such thing in the Scriptures, before wee maie suffer him to make it an Article of our faith. Against it euerie place is a proofe; but for it none that I reade, or they haue yet alleaged. They shifte handes, and in steede of the worlde of soules they bring in the graue, or the state of deade bodies; which is but a vaine flourish, to propose one thing, and to prooue an other. And though you (Sir Refuter) goe to varying of
[k] Pag. 97 "phrases which I thinke is your best skill; as, [k] *The State of*
"*the deade, the worlde of the deade, the worlde of soules departed*;
yet I must let you vnderstande there is great difference betwixt these speeches. Sheol may extend to their bodies whose soules doe liue in heauen: to their soules it cannot; and

therefore

therefore you must not chop in the one for the other, as your instructor doth, who when he would proue the world of soules, falleth by aboue head and eares into the graue. The one you shall euerie where light on, of the other there is no mention. As when Iacob said to his sonnes, [l] you will make my hoare haires descend to *Sheol* with sorrow; and likewise when Dauid said to Salomon, [m] thou shalt make (*Shemeis*) hoare haires descende to *Sheol* with bloud: are there white haires or bloud in the worlde of soules, as there are in the graue? this is the state of deade bodies, but not of soules departed. In the destruction of Core, Dathan and Abiran, the Scripture saieth; [n] the earth opened her mouth & swallowed them vp, and their howsen, and they descended, and all that were with them aliue to *Sheol*. Aliue is both bodie and soule in euerie mans eie. For had those two beene severed, they had bene dead. Doe the bodies of men descende to your world of soules? or is it plaine that in this place must be meant by Sheol either hell which receiued both their bodies and soules that were in that rebellion against God; or at least the heart of the earth, which receaued them liuing, whereas other men die before they are committed to the earth? [o] like sheepe (saieth Dauid) shall they bee laide in Sheol. Are there sheepe, or anie resemblance of sheepe in your worlde of soules; or doth Dauid rather meane, that, as sheepe are bounde, and then slaine, and cast on heapes, so shall the wicked bee handled? nowe as manie places in the scriptures as note Sheol to be below, cānot be referred to your worlde of soules; for they are as well on high in heauen, as below in hell. And therefore of force Sheol must in all those places either importe hell which is belowe, or the graue which is lower then the earth whereon men doe liue. [p] Thou hast deliuered my soule (saith Dauid) from the lower *Sheol*. And Esaie of the King of Babell: [q] *Sheol* belowe was afraide at thy comming, and raised vp her mightie men to meete thee, and to saie vnto thee, art thou also weakened, as well as wee? is thy pride depressed to *Sheol*? This cannot

[l] Genes. 42.
[m] 3. Reg. 2
[n] Numb. 16
[o] Psal. 49.
[p] Psal. 86.
[q] Esa. 14.

be

bee meant of the generall and indefinite state of the deade nor of the worlde of soules, for manie of them were on high in strength and ioie; not in feare and weakenesse, as here they are described in Sheol. And therefore ruffle you and your abettour as long as you list with tauntes and tearmes; foil crakes fray not such as bee pinie to your lame legs. Again, heauen is namelie expressed, and opposed to Sheol; how can heauen be included in Sheol? [r] To the high heauens what wilt thou do? it is lower then *Sheol*, how wilt thou know it? Will your learning serue you to make the high heauens a part of the lowe Sheol? [s] If I ascend to heauen, thou art there, (saieth Dauid to God.) if I lie downe in *Sheol*, there art thou also. So God himselfe by Amos: [t] If they dig to *Sheol* there shall my hande fetch them; if they ascend to heauen thence will I bring them downe. And to the king of Babilon. [u] Thou saiedst in thine heart I will ascende to heauen, and climbe aboue the highth of the cloudes: but thou shalt be pluckt down to *Sheol*, euen to the sides of the pit.

[r] Iob.11.
[s] Psal 139
[t] Amos.9
[u] Esa.14.

To men of ante meane capacitie I thinke it be manifest, that ascending here cannot be descending; & consequentlie that heauen is no part of Sheol, but a place rather opposed against it; albeit your impudencie be such ỹ in the Creed you expound, he descended into hell, by the cleane contrarie, that is, he ascended into heauen. But what will not men of your face and fashe doe? I hope all good men will beware of such expositions. We deride the Glosse of the Canon lawe for saying *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus*, we establish, that is, we abrogate. How ridiculous and audacious then is this presumption, to saie Christ descended into hel, that is he ascended vp to heauen; but hereof in the close when we haue first cleared your fonde conceites of SHEOL AND HADES. [x] The dead praise thee not (saith Dauid to God) nor all that descende into silence. If the scriptures affirme as much of Sheol, how can Sheol be the worlde of soules? yea how can Sheol bee heauen, where the soules night and daie, that is euerlastinglie,

[x] Psal.115.

do

do nothing but praise God, and confesse vnto him the honor of his name? [y] Sheol (saieth Esay) cannot confesse vnto thee, neither can such as descende vnto the pit trust in thy truth. Yea (saieth Salomon,) [z] There is no worke, thought, knowledge, nor wisedome in *Sheol*, whither thou goest. If Sheol bee the world of soules, they be all a sleepe, that neither doe speake, nor thinke anie thing. Small are their ioyes, and lesse are their paines, which they neuer so much as thinke of. So that neither hell, nor heauen, nor any part of your world of soules can bee heere vnderstoode by Sheol in Salomons wordes; but of meere force it must be the Graue where the bodie lyeth voide of sense, speach, action, or cogitation. The rest of the places of the olde Testament where Sheol is named, concurre with these; and import either the graue, which is common to the godlie with the wicked; or else that pit which is prepared for the soules of the wicked, which can bee none other place, but precisely and properlie HELL. What textes they are of the lawe and the prophets, where Sheol is named, that cannot bee referred to the graue, I haue in the treatise before specified and handled such of them, as I thought sufficient, especiallie receauing no answere to my reasons, but the Sphingicall perplexities of an high minded Maister; whose wordes with mee, though they bee of the largest size, are but winde. And therefore I rest vpon the same groundes and proofes, which I make before, and stande to iustifie, that in no place of the olde or newe testament, where SHEOL or HADES are named, their world of soules is, or canne bee vnderstoode: let them name mee the places, I will presentlie send them by Gods grace an answere.

[y] Esa. 38.

[z] Eccleſiaſt. 9

Vide pag. 147.

As for HADES (good Reader) by which worde the Septuagint expresse the Hebrue SHEOL; in all these textes, where thou seest the worde SHEOL, thou maiest assure thy selfe the Septuagint vse HADES in steede thereof, and the verie same reasons that serue for Sheol, serue for HADES in

euerie point without exception: And that maketh me wholie to skippe the handling of HADES in the Septuagint; and to referre the discussing thereof till I come to the places of the newe Testament. Now the consequent of that I haue alleaged either heere or before, is this; that by SHEOL and HADES in the olde Testament must needes be meante either HELL, the GRAVE, or their VVORLDE OF SOVLES, which they so much talke of; if no place in the olde Testament doe necessarilie enforce their worlde of soules to bee vnderstoode by either of these wordes, then it remaineth, that in what textes the graue maie not bee endured to bee the meaning of either of these wordes, there wee conceaue the place of the damned must bee intended in either of them. Peruse both the obseruations and allegations before, and thou shalt see both the textes and the proofes, whie the place of the damned must often bee vnderstoode by Sheôl in the bookes of the law and the prophets. I hope thou wilt thinke it superfluous for mee to defende it, or enlarge it, before anie man doe particularlie impugne it. So that whatsoeuer you prate (Sir Refuter) without waight or warrant touching Sheol, I count it lip labor; when you or your helpers bring anie thing worth the regarding, you shal find me readie to receaue it, or refute it; as the matter deserueth.

Vide pag. 147

Sheol then in the olde Testament, and Hades in the Septuagint signifying somtimes the state of deade bodies which is the graue; sometimes the place of deade soules, which is hell; but neuer the world of soules, whereof some are in heauen; let vs see what force HADES hath in the new testament; or whether it can thence be proued, that Hades importeth the world of soules. As ỹ mysteries of God were more fully declared by the gospel, then by the law; so the kingdom of heauen was more precisely seuered from the kingdome of Satan by Christ, then by Moses. What Moses darkelie shadowed vnder figures, that Christ reuealed in plaine wordes;

and

and therefore hell fire, which is obscurelie mentioned in the law and prophets, is often and openlie named by the mouth of our Sauiour; and HADES, which before extended to good and bad, is nowe by the writers of the newe testament restrained to the place of the damned. So that Hades with thē signifieth hell, and the powers thereof, and not the death of the bodie, much lesse the world of soules. Examples hereof I haue giuen thée (gentle Reader) in the [u] Treatise before; saue that I then reasoned the death of the bodie was not signified by HADES, which now these deuisers haue changed into the VVORLD OF SOVLES. I must therefore nowe ouerrun all those places againe, and shewe that the VVORLD OF SOVLES cannot bee erpressed by anie of those places. Which I will with as much breuitie as I canne, considering the wise Reader will soone bee able to discerne this newe Camisadoe latelie offered with the VVORLD OF SOVLES. The first place is, [x] Woe to thee *Chorazin*, and woe to thee *Bethsaida*, saith our Sauiour: [y] And thou *Capernaum* exalted to heauen, shalt bee brought downe euen to hell; it shall bee easier for Sodome in the day of iudgement then for thee. What is Gods curse and threates to impenitent sinners? HELL, or the VVORLD OF SOVLES? and in the date of iudgement, when their punishment shall bee greater then the Sodomites, shall they go to hell fire, or to the VVORLD OF SOVLES? I praie you (Sir Refuter,) where are the Sodomites at this houre? in hell or in your VVORLD OF SOVLES? In hell I thinke. Saint Iude saith, [z] They do sustaine the punishments of euerlasting fire. Is that your VVORLDE OF SOVLES? If it be not, they shal certainlie be where the Sodomites are, yea in worse case shall they bee, and that I suppose must bee in hell, and not in heauen. The second place is in the wordes of Christ to Peter, [a] Vpon this rocke will I builde my church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and I wil giue thee the keyes of the kingdom of heauen. The VVORLD OF SOVLES doth not impugne ẏ church, therfore it is no signe

[u] Vide pag. 171

[x] Matt 11

[y] Luc. 10

[z] Iud. epist.

[a] Matth. 16

of Gods fauour, for that not to preuaile against the church. Against, what soeuer preuaile not, yet if hell preuaile, what safetie hath the church? Heresie and iniquitie are the gates of hell fighting against the church, as well as cruelties.

[b] Hiero. in Matth. 16

[b] *Ego portas Inferni reor vitia atque peccata, vel certè hæreticorũ doctrinas, per quas illecti homines ducuntur ad Tartarum. Nemo itaque putet de morte dici, quòd apostoli conditioni mortis subiecti non fuerint, quorum martyria vides coruscare.* I thinke (saith Ierom,) the gates of hell to be vices and sinnes, or else heresies, by which men being enticed are led to hell. Let no man therefore imagine it is spoken of death, as if the Apostles were not subiect thereto, whose martyrdoms thou findest so famous.

[c] Hilarius in Mat. cano 16

[c] *Digna ædificatione illius Petra, quæ infernas leges, & Tartari portas, & omnia mortis claustra dissolueret.* It was a Rocke (saith Hilarie) worthy of Christs building, which should dissolue the lawes of hell, the gates of *Tartare*, and all the Cloisters of death.

[d] Origenes in Matth. ca. 16.

So Origen, [d] *Portæ inferorum dicentur etiam principatus ac potestates, aduersus quas nobis est colluctatio.* The gates of hell may the powers and principalities bee called, against the which we haue to striue.

[e] Beda in Mat. 16.

[e] *Portas inferni hæreticam prauitatem nominat, siue vitia & peccata, vnde mors ad animam venit.* The gates of hel Christ calleth *Hæreses*, (saith Bede) or else vices and sinnes, by which the soule dieth.

[f] Ambros. lib 6. in Lucæ ca 8.

So Ambrose, [f] *Quæ autẽ sunt portæ Inferni, nisi singula quæque peccata?* What are the gates of hell, but all kind of sinnes?

[g] Greg. in. Psal. 5. pœnitentialẽ

And Gregorie; [g] *Portæ Inferni hæreses sunt, quæ quasi inferorum aditum pandunt.* The gates of hell are heresies, which open as it were the passage to hell.

[h] Synod. 5. constantinop. Sessione. 8.

The fifte generall councell of Constantinople with one full consent alloweth the same. [h] *Portæ inferni non præualebunt aduersus eam, id est hæreticorum linguæ mortiferæ.* The gates of hell that is the deadlie tongues of heretickes, shal not preuaile against the church.

You might haue more, but these are enough. Here (Sir Refuter) you tell a long and a foolish tale of death out of your owne heade, as if Christ did promise his Apostles protection against the violence of Tyrants, but not against

the

the rage of Satan; [i] *To vnderstande sinnes and errours as some of the ancient writers doe, the circumstances of the texte*, you saie, *doe seeme not to beare it*. Your ignorant humour is loth to haue it so; otherwise the wordes of Christ, respect the trueth of Peters confession, that himselfe was Christ the sonne of the liuing God; against the which faith no policie, nor tyrannie of Satan shoulde preuaile, and so by your leaue the Fathers goe directlie to the meaning of the terte; and you woulde wrest it to your priuate fansie, least HADES shoulde signifie HELL; and yet at length vpon aduisement you [k] *confesse it may bee heere the* GATES OF HELL, *and that* HADES *is thus vsed sometimes, and namelie in the last example out of the 16. of Luke*. It is well then that in the 16. of Luke you yeelde HADES doeth signifie HELL, where the wicked are tormented, and did you denie it, the Scripture auoucheth it; the wordes are plaine, [l] I am tormented in this flame: againe, least they come into this place of torment. Then HADES without anie other addition noteth HELL, and when Christ saith, the rich man IN HADES LIFT vp his eyes; he addeth this as a necessarie consequent being in torments, to shew that HADES is the place of torment, and not the VVORLD OF SOVLES.

[i] Pag. 111.

[k] Pag. 113.

[l] Luc. 16.

From thence you leape to the Reuelation; and there, when Saint Iohn sawe [m] one sitting on a pale horse whose name was death, and HADES followed after him, that is, saie you, *the world of the dead*. [n] *It cannot be hell certainely, because hel slaieth none in that sort. Againe, to saie preciselie that the fourth part of the world shoulde go to hell, I take it to bee a strange phrase in scripture*. Here first is a plaine proofe, that death and HADES are two seuerall things, the one following after the other. For nothing doth follow it selfe. The doubt is now what HADES importeth. *The world of the dead*, saie you. The worlde of the dead, if thereby you mean dead bodies, is al one with death; if you vnderstand the world of soules, that hath two partes heauen and hell, which of these two did follow after death to

[m] Reuelat. 6

[n] Pag. 116.

help destroy the fourth part of the earth? the kingdom of heauen is neuer proposed in the scriptures as a destroyer, but the diuell hath his proper name in this booke, [m] ὁ ἀπολλύων the destroyer. Againe, this vision S. Iohn saw at the opening of the fourth Seale, but the world of soules in heauen was shewed him in the opening of the fift Seale, which presentlie followeth in the next verse in these words. And when (the lambe) had opened the fift Seale, I saw (saith Iohn) vnder the altar the soules of men slayne for the word of God, and for the testimonie of the Lambe. The world of soules in heauen was seene in the opening of the fift seale; therefore that world of soules was not seene in the opening of the fourth Seale; but of force, if by HADES you will vnderstand anie world of soules, it must be of those that were in HELL. Howbeit because hee did accompanie death that was sent to destroy, I take it rather to bee the power of the deuill, that is there described; then anie world of soules, as you dreame. And that the diuell destroyeth as well the bodie as the soule; if it be strange to you, you are a greater stranger in the Scriptures then you would seeme to bee. Who threw the house vpon the heads of [n] Iobs Children can you tell? or who smote Iob himselfe with that loathsome disease? [But the fourth part of the earth, you say, could not go to hell;] God graunt no more then the fourth part go thither. Neuer reade you, [o] many called and few chosen? and [p] though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the Sea, yet but a remnant shall be saued. And why might not the dragon as well deuoure the fourth part of ẏ earth, as [q] draw downe from heauē with his tayle the third part of the starres? Or if there you take a certayne number for an vncertain, which is S. Iohns manner of writing in this booke, why not as well here as elsewhere? these therefore are a couple of idle quarrels; if these be your best, you are more willing, then able to do harme. But by ẏ same words in the same booke, we shall better vnderstand

[m] Apoca. 9.

Apoca. 6. vers. 9.

[n] Iob. 1
Iob. 2

[o] Math. 22.
[p] Rom. 9.

[q] Apoca. 12

derstand what is ment by HADES, then by your wandring and weake gloze. Death and HADES, saith S. Iohn were cast into the lake of fier. [r] *It were absurd* (you adde) *to saie death and hell were cast into hell.* True; but more absurd, and more blasphemous to saie, that death and the world of soules shall bee cast into the lake of fier. For then not onlie the Saints of God, but heauen it selfe should bee cast into hell fier. Yet if we take the containing for the contained, which is the most vsuall phrase of the Scripture, as [t] wo be to thee Chorazin, wo to thee Bethsaida, & thou Capernaum: as likewise [u] Ierusalem, Ierusalem which killest the prophets; & it shal be easier for Tyrus & Sydon, with a thousand such euery wher occurrent; then is it an easie & true speach, that hel, to witte the powers of hell; euen the diuels themselues shall be cast into the lake of fier. And so doth Andreas Bishop of Cesaria erpound it, [v] πονηρὰς δυνάμεις, τὰς τὸν ᾅδην ἐχούσας, the wicked spirits the possessours of HADES, shall be cast into hel fier. And so Bede [x] *Mors & Infernus missi sunt in stagnum ignis. Diabolum dicit et suos, quem supra in equo pallido sedentem Infernus sequebatur.* Death & hel shall be cast into the lake of fier. He meaneth the diuel & his, whō before sitting on a pale horse hell followed. As yet then HADES in the new Testament is not onlie a thing different from death, but euen hell it selfe; and your world of soules in none of these texts can find any hold or help. Let vs sée the rest.

„ Apoca. 20.
„ [r] Pag. 116.
[t] Math. 11.
[u] Math. 23.
v Andreas cæs. in Apoca. ca. 20.
x Beda in apoca. ca. 20.

That Christ triumphed ouer hell and Satan, & not ouer death onely; the Apostle fully affirmeth when he saith; Christ [y] spoyled principalities & powers, made an open shew of them, and triumphed ouer them in his owne person; that likewise hee hath the keyes of hell and not of death onlie, S. Iohn plainlie sheweth when [z] he saw an angell come down from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomeles pit, and there binding & shutting vp the diuell. The same key of the bottomeles pit was, in the 9 Chapter of the Reuelation, giuen to the Star that fidde from heauen. This keye must Christ haue, for hee saith

y Colos. 2.
z Reuelat. 3.

[a] Reuelat: 3. saith of himselfe that he [a] hath the key of Dauid, which openeth and no man shutteth, which shutteth and no man openeth. Since then there are [b] keyes not of heauen onlie which Christ committed to Peter and his fellow labourers; but of the [c] bottomles pitte, where Satan lyeth bound; which of force must bee HELL; when Christ professeth in the first of the Reuelation that he [d] hath the keyes τῦ θανάτ κ τῦ ἅδ of death and of HADES; who seeth not that HADES there must signifie hell it selfe, the key whereof is so expressie mentioned in that booke? And so when the Apostle maketh two parts of Christs conquest against death and hell, [e] ô death where is thy sting? ô HADES where is thy victorie? what reason is there to exclude out of these words, Christs victorie ouer HELL, since the same Apostle witnesseth, that Christ had a glorious triumph against hell, and the word HADES in all the places of the new Testament, which we haue yet viewed, inferreth hell? [The Apostle (you saie) [f] *speaketh not of the Damnation of the wicked; but of the resurrectiõ of the dead.*] And so do I; and therefore inferre, that when the bodies of the saints shall be raised from death, whose soules be already saued from hell; then shall these words be openlie verified, ô death where is thy sting? ô hell where is thy victorie? For since by sinne hell gate possession of both parts of man as well of his bodie as of his soule; the full deliuerance of man must free both parts, and the full conquest ouer hell is the losse of both parts, which in the resurrection of the dead shall be performed and not afore; and therefore then is the time for all the faithfull to thanke God, for their full victorie ouer DEATH AND HELL, and to saie with the Apostle ô death where is thy sting? ô HELL where is thy victorie? But what hath your world of soules to do with these words, or with anie other, where HADES is named in the new testament? All these places serue fitlie for hell, and the most of them necessarilie; since either is expressed as a diuerse thing from HADES, or not to bee comprised in the name of HADES.

[b] Math. 16

[c] Reuelat: 20.

[d] Reuelat: 1

[e] 1 Corinth 15

[f] Pag. 117.

But

But your world of soules is most absurd and false in every one of these, and can not stand with the circumstance of the text, the first of the Reuelation onelie excepted, where though there be no wordes to impugne it, yet are there none to approue it. For is it anie curse for Capernaum, to bee brought to the worlde of soules, except you meane hell? Doth your world of soules impugne the Church of Christ? or destroy the fourth part of the earth? or shall it be cast into the lake of fire? And what victorie shal the soul haue against the world of soules in the last day; since their olone soules reioice to receiue their bodies; and against the soules of the wicked they neither may nor will insult? It therefore remaineth that though HADES with the Septuagint signifie either BODILIE DEATH or HELL; yet in the new Testament where HADES is described as a different thing from DEATH, and following AFTER DEATH, HADES of necessitie, being NOT DEATH, must needes import HELL. Of the place in question, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in HADES, I will yet say nothing, but will come to the wordes of the Creede, Christ descended to HADES, and search what must be the meaning of HADES in that article.

What I take to be the meaning of Hades in the Creede, where it is said, Christ descended to HADES, as also what reasons lead me thereunto, thou shalt, Christian Reader, in the former [a] treatise, if thou shalt with more ease finde it there, then I repeat it here; howe much the Confuter confesseth, that must I now examine. When I obiect that in a short forme of the Christian faith made for the simple and common people, to repeate one thing twise were needelesse, and against the nature of the Creede: and to vse a double and more then plaine and easie, is vnprofitable and absurde in a short forme.

[a] Vide Part. 1. c. 8.

§ It is true [illegible] Creed, appointed onely for the common Christian people, ought to be plaine and easie, and not to vse the same thing by diuers wordes expressed, the later explaining the former. Therefore I will grant, in the Creede [illegible] plaine, easie and plaine.

pounding the Creede, the words to be proper and euident without figuratiue obscuritie, the things to be different without idle repetition, and the order to be consequent without anie confusion. The Confuter agreeth with me in all these; and he doubteth not but his exposition is such. Since then there be three expositions of that article, Christ descended to HADES; that is either to the GRAVE, or to HELL, or to the VVORLDE OF SOVLES, which in Christes case (you saie) was HEAVEN; which of these three, Sir Refuter, commeth neerest to the nature of a short, easie, and orderlie summe of a Creede? The first you like not, because it expresseth that in darke and hard circumlocution, which was familiarly and plainely said before, he was dead and buried. The question then resteth betweene the two last, which of the twains best expresseth the proper
[b] Pag. 125. "sense, and vulgar vse of the woorde HADES. *For the Apostles*
"*and Apostolike men* (you confesse) *did so write and speake, as the*
"*people then might best vnderstand.* If it bee so, then your exposition, (Sir Refuter) is cleane thrust out of doores. For neither with the auncient Writers of the Greeke tongue, which were the Poets, nor with the Septuagint, nor with the writers of the newe Testament, nor with the people of that time, in their vnderstanding, did HADES euer signifie the woorlde of soules without anie limitation of state, or place. Againe that generall and indefinite woorlde of soules, without respect of hell or heauen, is no point nor part of the Christian faith. For faith touching Christ must not be generall or ambiguous, but particular and certaine. It is no faith, much lesse an article of the faith, to saie, Christes soule after death went some whither; the Creede muste specifie the place whither it went before it can bee a matter of faith, that must bee beleeued. And therefore HADES doeth point out the particular place, as hell or heauen whither Christes soule went after death, before any man may chalenge it to be the true meaning of that article.

[i] Pag. 128. "If anie doe aske particularlie whither is this? You answer, "*namely into heauen: for whither should the Saints go else?*

This

This in déede is a familiar, triuiall, easie, and plaine exposition, Christs soule DESCENDED DOVVNE TO HADES; that is, it ASCENDED VP TO HEAVEN. And so by taking heauen for hell, and ascending vppe for descending downe, you haue quickelie made an ende of this matter. Whie then goe on with your wise Maister, and make HADES, which is the chiefe Diuell, to bee God, and you haue made a perfect exposition of the Creede, fitte for such as attribute to Diuels, what they shoulde attribute vnto GOD. Was this the plainest and easiest waie for the Apostolike men to teach the people, Christes soule ascended vppe to heauen, by saying hee DESCENDED TO HADES? And did the people so best vnderstande them? You that expounde this by the cleane contrarie, and saie they be best so vnderstode, no maruaile if you arrogate so much vnto your selfe in framing the Scriptures to your fansies; you maie with little studie proone a speedie expositour of the Scriptures. But, Sir, wise men that regarde their faith more then your follyes will aske; where you finde descending for ascending, and Hades for heauen? If you pretende Plato, they will tell you, that to embrace a priuate conceite of Socrates against all the former Greekes, against the Septuagint, against the Euangelists, and Apostles, and euidentlie against all the fathers is not to expounde an Article of the faith, but the next waie to bring Paganisme into the Creede; and that by so licentious and lewde a trade of open peruerting the wordes of the Creede, and taking sowre for sweete, colde for heate, euill for good, that nothing shall stande sounde if this bee admitted. [k It is, you saie, an Hebrewe phrase. *So Iacob spake, I will goe downe mourning to my Sonne vnto Sheol, yet Iacob thought not to goe to hell to his sonne, but among the soules of the godlie deade, that is to saie, into heauen.*] It hath beene meetelie well tolde you, that Sheol neuer signifyeth heauen in all the Scriptures, but that Iacob meant hee woulde goe mourning vnto Sheol, that is to his Graue, refusing to take anie comfort whiles he liued, since his sonne

k Pag. 145

was dead. You like a tyrant ouer the Scriptures, will haue what sense pleaseth you in euerie place; and then you saie it is plaine and common. In deede your ignorance and insolencie is verie plaine and common; but the interpretations which you make of Scripture, be absurde and more then foolish. A man liuing may well be said to descend into his graue; liuing hee standeth, dying he lieth downe; and the face of the earth on which we are, is higher then the bowels of the earth where wee be buried; but of a soule ascending vp to heauen, to say it descendeth to hell, is a phrase of your making, and fit for your faith, which is guided more by will then by truth. When you proue these two points, that HADES IS HEAVEN in the Scriptures, and that DESCENDING IS ASCENDING, we will hearken to your exposition; till then, we will leaue it as a dissemper of your vnsetled braine.

For the last exposition of the three which remaineth, I haue shewed (Christian reader) by the particular circumstances of the Scriptures, that in the continuall vse of the new Testament HADES signifieth HELL, which is the place where the wicked after this life are in torments. I haue also in the sermons before examined the words of Dauid, alledged and applied by [m] Peter to Christ, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, whence Peter concludeth Christs soule was not left in hell; as likewise the words of Paul importing that Christ descended εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον to the bottomlesse deepe, which worde throughout the new testament doth signifie nothing but HEL; I haue noted how anciently Christs local descent to hel was preached in the church, euen by one of the [n] seuentie disciples (that were conuersant with Christ) & continued to this date with the full consent of the fathers, both Greeke & Latin without exception, and by the whole church of Christ receiued; I must not iterate that which there is so latelie written. The words are faire and plain, there is no danger nor difficultie in them, the end of Christes descending thither being both honourable to him, and comfortable to vs, as I haue before deliuered it. Lastly, I see no cause either in this Confuters ridiculous pamphlet, or in his abet-

Vide pag. 170 & sequent.

[l] Psal. 16.
[m] Act. 2.

[n] Luke. 10.

tors

torstempestuous and furious libell, why anie man should dislike or distrust this exposition, as vnsit for the wordes, or vnsound for the faith of the Creede. To load thee with authorities were to make an other volume; thou shalt onelie see I haue not deuised it of mine owne heade, but that it hath both antiquitie for it, and authoritie with it, and so I will make an ende. Cyprian in his Sermon of Christs passion; [o] *Ipse dicit ad patrē, non derelinques animā meam in inferno, nec sines corrumpi carnem meam in sepulchro, quia vbi in præsentia illius, effractis inferis est captiuata captiuitas, præsentata victrice anima in præsentia patris ad corpus suum sine dilatione reuersus est,* Christ saieth to his Father, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer my flesh to rotte in the graue, because as soone as captiuitie was subdued, hell being broken vppe in his presence, and his triumphing soule presented to the sight of his Father, hee without delay returned to his bodie. Arnobius writing vppon the hundreth thirtie and seuenth Psalme; [p] *Postea vidit Inferos, & longè factus est non solum à cœlis, sed & ab ipsa terra: Abyssi profunda descendens scidit, & quia inde reuerteretur ad superos, & quia a superis remearet ad cœlos.* Afterward Christ went to hell, and was farre not onelie from heauen, but from the earth: descending hee brake the bottomlesse deepe, that hee might thence returne to life; and from thence to heauen. Lactantius in his verses of the resurrection, saith.

[o] Cyprian de passion Christ.

[p] Arnobius in psal. 137.

[q] *Tristia cessarunt inferna vincula legis,*
Expauitq; Chaos luminis ore premi.
Deperiunt tenebræ, Christi fulgore fugatæ,
Æternæ noctis pallia crassa cadunt.

[q] Lactan. phœnix de resurrect.

The fearefull bands of the infernall power ceased, and Chaos was afraid to be oppressed with the light of his presence. The darknesse of hell was chased away with the brightnes of Christ, and the grosse couerings of eternall night vanished. Athanasius, [r] *Ipse est dei virtus, qui infernum expugnauit, & imperium Diaboli demolitus est, qui Deus in descendēdo, deus in ascendendo, corpus suum à morte excitatum patri repræsentauit, ac vindicauit à morte sub cuius imperio tenebatur.* Christ is the power of God, which surprised hell,

[r] Athanas. ad Liberium.

and ouerthrewe the kingdome of the diuell, who beeing God in descending, and God in ascending, presented his body raised from death to his father, and tooke it from death, vnder whose power it was helde. Hilarius. [f] *Hic ergo vnus est mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostræ fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptionem carnis humanæ gloria sui corporis perimens.* Christ alone is hee that in hell killed death, confirmed our hope with his resurrection, and destroied the corruption of mans flesh, with the glorie of his owne bodie. Basil: *Habes ergo myrrham ob sepulturam, guttam ob descensionem ad infernum, quod non inefficax in sepulchro permanserit, sed ad infernum descenderit, gratia dispensationis circa resurrectionem absoluendæ, vt quæ de seipso erant oracula Prophetarum, vniuersa expleret:* Thou hast (in this Psalme) myrrhe for his buriall, dropping for his descent to hell, because hee lay not in his graue without force, but descended into hell to dispatch thinges needfull for his resurrection, that hee might fulfill all that the Prophets forespake of him. Nazianzene **maketh Christes mother to say of him,** [u] *At vbi veneris in atram nocte Plutonis domum, Infernum acerbo iaculo defixeris.* But when thou wentest to the house of Pluto, where darke night is; thou diddest thrust thorow hell with a wounding speare. Fulgentius: [x] Dauid spake of Christes resurrection, that his soule was not left in hell, nor his flesh saw corruption. In this then the Godheade of Christ shewed the power of his impassibilitie, that being euery where, alwaies, and vnspeakeablie present, it wanted not to his flesh, when it suffered not his soule to feele any paine in hell, neither forsooke his soule in hell, whiles it kept his flesh from rotting in the graue. Beda **our countriman shall be the last,** [y] My flesh (saith Dauid of Christ) shal rest in hope, expounding in what hope; to wit in this hope, that though my soule descend to hell, yet thou wilt not leaue it to be possessed of hel. **The rest go all cleer that way, applying ȳ words** of Dauid **cited** by Peter, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, **to Christs descent thither after death. And howsoeuer the fathers incline to thinke,** as Ierom did, **that the saints before Christes comming were inclosed in a place vnder the earth, expecting Christs comming to bee carried vp to heauen** (of **which I haue spoken**

[f] Hilarius de trinitat. lib. 4.

[g] Basil. in psa. 44

[u] Nazianzen. in christo patiente.

[x] Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum. lib. 3.

[y] Beda in Psal. 15.

spoken as much as is needfull in the [z] treatise before; yet they absolutelie acknowledge that Christ descending destroyed the kingdome of Satan, and freed all the faithfull from euer comming thither. [z] Vide pag. 189. & sequent.

The rest of the Confuters talke is like ỹ froth of the sea, which wind & waues roll to and fro; sometimes he runneth this way, and then backe againe another way; saying and vnsaying hee knoweth not how, nor what. Sometimes he saith the Creede, and *namely this article Christ descended to* Hades *could not bee made long after the Apostles time; whereof Ignatius and others most ancient do speake.* In another place he saith; *We find almost all the Creedes, certainlie the most ancientest, and the best of them to want these wordes of Christs descending into hell.* In one place he saith, *The Creedes which we find in Ignatius, Irenaus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertulliã, Origen, Athanasius, Augustinus, the Nicene, Cõstantinopolitan, Toletan, Ephesine, al these neuer thought that Christs going downe to hell, was anie distinct or certaine Article of the Christian faith.* And yet before he confessed ỹ *Ignatius and others most auncient doe speake namelie of this Article.* But, Sir, haue these Creedes which here you cite, all the rest of the Articles that are in the Apostles Creede? I hope there want in some of them a good manie. For these rehearsals in the eldest Fathers doe but touche some of the Articles of the Creede, and shewe that there was such a compendious briefe of the Faith receiued amongst Christians from the beginning. The Councels of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and others, want euerie one of them sundrie Articles that are in the Apostles Creede, and adde other that are not there; so as in deede they are rather expositions then recitals of the Apostles Creed. And yet I hope Athanasius creede hath this Article in precise wordes, and rehearseth it as a part of the Catholike faith, that Christ descended into Hell. Neither is there anie one of these Fathers whome heere you haue named, as [a] Ignatius, [b] Irenæus, [c] Iustinus Martyr, [d] Tertullian, [e] Origene, [f] Augustine, but they expresselie touche and teache Christes locall descent to Hell, as all the rest doe without exception. [a] Igna ad Trall. [b] Iren. li 5. c. 31 [c] Iustin. in dialo. cum tryph. [d] Tertul. de anima. [e] Orig. in cap. 5. ep. ad Rom. [f] Aug. epi. 99.

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And if Councels will content you, you shall not goe farre for both Prouinciall and Generall. The Councell of Alexandria that wrote to suppresse the heresie of Nestorius, maketh the spoiling of hell a part of Christes resurrection, and saieth; [d] *Tertia Die resuxit, expolians infernum*, Christ rose againe the thirde daie, hauing spoyled hell. This confession was read and allowed as Catholike in the first generall Councell of [e] Ephesus, in the great Councell of Chalcedon, and in the fifth generall Councell of Constantinople. So that fathers and Councels both oecumenicall and prouinciall, haue receiued and approoued this article euen from the foundation of Christs church; as a part of Christes resurrection, howsoeuer they did not alwayes annexe it to their Creedes.

[d] Epist Cyril. & Synod. Alexan. ad Nestor.

[e] Vide acta cōcilii Ephesini & 5. Synod. Constan. Sess. 7.

With like follie and inconstancie, he saith it is [f] *the naturall and necessarie deuision of the articles of the Creede, that these, Christ suffered, was crucified, dead, buried, descended into hell, should concerne Christs humiliation*, and hee supposeth euerie sensible man will confesse so much whereas he himselfe expounded the last of them to haue this meaning, that Christes soule ascended to heauen. Now to ascend to heauen euery boy knoweth is a part of Christes exaltation, and not of his humiliation. Howe his note booke deuideth the Creeds, I know not, but Saint Paule whence this diuision hath his ground, saieth this is [g] Christs exaltation, that at the name of Iesus euerie knee should bow of things in heauen, earth, and vnder the earth, which is hell. His humiliation stretcheth no farther then the death of the Crosse, then beginneth his exaltation. With like discretion when I alledged the Parable from Christes owne mouth, that his triumph ouer Satan must haue three parts, the [h] ouerrunning, the binding, the spoyling of Satan, and his kingdome; and further from that Parable I deriued nothing; This wisdome to shew himselfe learned, crieth out, [i] *a fine toy or rather a shamefull gloze by vnsauorie allegorizing to corrupt the Text.* Is *this a good waie to prooue Articles of the faith, viz. deliuered by Allegories?* As if the most parte of Christes doctrine were not deliuered by Parables and Allegories?

[f] Pag. 166.

[g] Philip. 2.

[h] Mat. 12. Luke. 11.

[i] Pag. 161.

The

The parables of the Sower, of the labourers in the vineyard, & the husbandmen killing the heire, of good trees & straight gates, of the lost sheepe, vniust Steward, and vnrighteous Iudge; of Tares sowed by the enemie, and harueſt at the end of the woꝛld, of the great Supper, and wedding garment, of the wounded Samaritane, and wise virgins, of the prodigall sonne, and euill seruants, one ỹ neglected his maſters talent, the other that imprisoned his fellow, of the rich man & Lazarus; to be short the allegoꝛies of light, of salt, of leauen, of chaffe, of the vyne and branches, of the good shepheard, and a thousand such in the pꝛophets, Euangelists and Apostles, do they teach no matters of faith? What Buzzard was euer so blind as so to saie, no points of faith maie be pꝛoued by allegoꝛies? Had I extended the Parable farder then Christ himselfe did, oꝛ applied it to anie other purpose then he did; there might haue beene some cause of quarrell, but keeping my selfe pꝛecisely both to the Scope and woꝛds of our Sauiour, I could not tread awꝛie. But in a bꝛauerie to chalenge all the Parables and allegoꝛies in the Scriptures, as vnfitte to teach points of faith, neuer came in anie sober mans head.

As you vse the Scriptures, so you vse the Synode of this Realme, that is you arrogantlie and absurdlie falsifie it. [k] *The manifest meaning of the whole Synode (of this Realme,) which is our publik doctrine and established by law in England.* APPARENTLY RENOVNCETH, (saie you) *this doctrine of Christs going downe to the hell of the damned.* If you pꝛoue that you saie, I must confesse it is verie materiall; & by Gods grace I my selfe will reuoke all that I haue said in this point; but if you bꝛag not onlie without cause, but against the verie trueth and tenoꝛ of their pꝛoceedings, are you not woꝛthie in sœde of H. I. to be named W. F? but let vs heare how this appeareth? [l] *Euen thus; the Synode before holden in king* Edwards *time affirmed this doctrine directly and expresly* (in their article of Christs descent to hell.) *This Synode comming after repeateth and ratifieth a part* (of that article) *in expresse words;* but *part of it, euen all and euerie whit that containeth this doctrine expresse of Christs going downe to the hell of the damned, all this I saie our Synode,* (anno 1562) *cutteth off, it putteth out, it casteth awaie.* The woꝛds are these of the foꝛmer *Synode*, *Quemadmodum Christus*

[k] Pag. 171

[l] Pag. 172

Articlu.3 *Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse. Nam corpus vsque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro iacuit, spiritus ab illo emissus cũ spiritibus qui in carcere siue in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisq; prædicauit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus.* As Christ died for vs and was buried; so also it is to be beleeued, that he went down to hel. For his body lay in the graue vntil the resurrection; his spirit which he breathed out was with the spirits that were in prison or in hel, and preached vnto them, as the place of *Peter* vvitnesseth. [b] *But our Synode since correcteth it herein & saith but thus only,* Quemadmodũ Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiã credẽdus ad inferos descendisse. *As Christ died for vs and was buried, so we are to beleeue also, that he went vnto the dead. This therfore in thẽ is seene manifestly* (as I said) *to renounce and abrogate this particular sense of Christs descẽding,* Ꝑ HE VVENT AFTER DEATH TO HELL. Is this all you haue to saie (Sir Refuter,) then when pronounder is deuided you shall haue a part for your good collectiõ. You collect that Ꝑ later Synode by leauing out certain words of the former renounceth that CHRIST AFTER DEATH VVENT TO HELL; and that which it retaineth of the former Synode in expresse wordes is this; IT IS TO BE BELEEVED THAT CHRIST VVENT DOVVN INTO HELL. So in your iudgement by beleeuing that Christ wente downe into Hell, they renounce, that Christ went to hell. If it were a matter of sight I shoulde aske whether you had anie eies or no; nowe it is a matter of reason I must more doubte whether you haue your fiue wittes or no. Set your inference to the viewe of all men. The Synode in her Maiesties time agreeth, It is to be beleeued that Christ vvent downe into hell. *Ergo* they apparãtly renounce that Christ went to hel. This is your conclusion; shew it to any tapster or tinker in England and se whether he will reward you with a mocke or no.

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[But they leaue out the latter part of the Article which the former Synode concluded.] So they leaue out that Christs bodie vvas in his graue vntill his resurrection, which are the wordes of the former Synode. Is the omitting of this a manifest renouncing and abrogating of it? God forbid [But the first Synode in king Edwardes time added farther, you saie, that Christs spirit vvas vvith the spirits detained in Prison or in hel,

hel, and preached vnto them.] First then tell your abettor, that al the Realme wil take him not only for a Railor against al honestie, but for a lier against al duty, that boucheth so confidently king *Edward* the sixt and his subiects held that Christ his soule neuer vvent to Gehenna; & the realme knoweth the Q. othe; as also the Q. aduentureth her eternal state. These be no states to come within the compasse of his vncleane mouth: He may doe well to remember who they be, of whom it is written: They despise gouernment, & speak euil of those that are in authoritie, as raging vvaues of the Sea, foming out their owne shame; And to take heed, that he proue not too true a prophet against himselfe in paying the price of misusing his liege and Soueraigne Ladie, and her whole Realme. But I wish him repentance and so I leaue him. Secondlie, (Sir Refuter) you maie see three thinges in the latter wordes of that Article in king Edwardes Synode, which are verie wiselie with silence ouerskipped by the Synode in her Maiesties time; and wherein for my part I thinke they did verie well not to adde to this Article, anie time, purpose, or prisoners, when, why, or to whome Christ descended. But therein to imitate the wisedome of the best ages, who kept this Article as they founde it without enterlacing it with anie newe additions. For in the later wordes of that former Synode nowe left out are three thinges that cannot bee iustified by the Scriptures. 1. that the Spirits of the iust vvere in hell. 2. that Christ there preached vnto them. 3. that he staied there till his resurrection. These three pointes contained in the Article of that Synode; were aduisedlie and profitablie suppressed by the Synode kept in her maiesties time; and these are the pointes which I my selfe impugne in this Treatise, as hauing no iust nor tolerable grounde in the Scriptures. But these thinges being drowned by omission, what is that to the rest of the article, which the later Synode imbraceth as a matter necessarie to be beleeued: for thus they resolue; As Christ died for vs & vvas buried; so also it is to be beleeued ỹ HE VVENT DOVVN INTO HELL. And though you woulde weaken their resolution with a false translation, as your maner is, by making them saie, vve are to beleeeue that Christ vvent vnto the dead, yet may you gain nothing by that, for we haue publike assurance & allowance that

Iudæ epistola.

Articul 3.

their words were and are IT IS TO BE BELEEVED THAT CHRIST VVENT DOVVNE INTO HELL. Their words in Latin were, you will say, *Credendus est ad inferos descendisse?* But the same Bishops & the same Clergie that were at the first Synode in the 5 of her Maiesty, assembling again in the 13 yeare of her highnes raign, did themselues english it as I report it, and offered it to the Prince & Parliament in those words to be cõfirmed, which accordingly that high Court did. So ẏ now not these words, Christ descended into HADES, though they be true as being the originall words, much lesse yours Christ went to the dead, but precisely these, Christ went downe into hell, are the faith & doctrine which the Church & Realme of England professeth, or which the lawe establisheth; and what they meane, were it not for your addle quirckes, is some perceaued euen of the simplest.

Page. 173 "You conclude that the *publike sentence of our Church, yea*
"*the publike law of our land is against this opiniõ of Christs descen-*
"*ding into hell.* And I conclude likewise that which is in the bone
"will neuer out of the flesh; with arrogance and ignorance you began, and so you will end. If HELL in english be HELL, & GOING DOVVNE be DESCENDING, thẽ both the Church & the law of England directly, expressely, precisely mayntayneth CHRISTS DESCENDING INTO HELL. If HELL in english be HEAVEN, & GOING DOVVN be GOING VP, then the Church and lawe of England fauoureth your fansie. And hereof I am wel content thou shalt be Iudge (Christian Reader) that vnderstandest best thine owne toong. For the latine INFERNVM and the Greeke HADES I am content to be tried by all the Fathers, Greeke & Latine that euer wrate in the Church of Christ. If these men cãnot keepe their quarter cleere nor vpholde their conceite, but they must exclude all Greeke, Latine, and English diuines since Christs time from vnderstanding euerie man his owne naturall toong; I will see their braines better settled, and their mouthes better tempred, before their philosophicall follies and Rabbinicall fansies the one sorte being strangers, the other enimies to the faith of Christ, shall draw mee from my Creede. And so I wish thee (Christian Reader) as my selfe, mercie and grace from the Lord Iesus, and commit thee to God.

FINIS.